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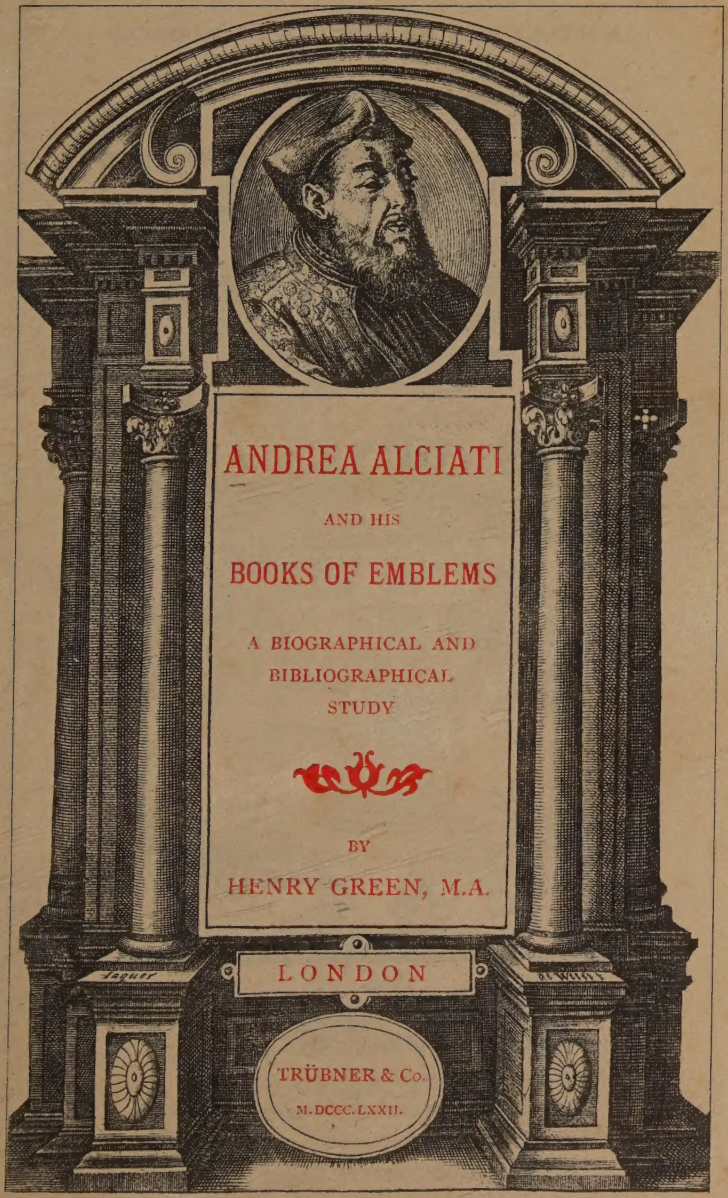

ANDREA ALCIATI

AND HIS

BOOKS OF EMBLEMS

A BIOGRAPHICAL AND
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL
STUDY

BY

HENRY GREEN, M.A.

LONDON

TRÜBNER & Co.

M.DCCC.LXXII.

ANDREAE ALCIATI INSIGNIA

Nunquam procraſtinandum.

ALCIATAE *gentis inſignia ſuſtinet alce,*
Vnguibus & μηδὲν ferit ἀναβαλλομένῳ.
Conſtat Alexandrum ſic reſpondiſſe roganti,
Qui tot obiuiſſet tempore geſta breui:
Nunquam, inquit, differre uolens, quod & indicat alce:
Fortior hæc dubites ocyor an ne ſiet.

GVLIELMO STIRLING-MAXWELL,

EQVITI-BARONETTO

DE KEIR,

EDINBVRGÆ VNIVERSITATIS RECTORI

OBSERVANTIAM SVMMAM OSTENDERE

GRATIASQVE PERSOLVERE

AVCTOR HOC MODO CONATVR.

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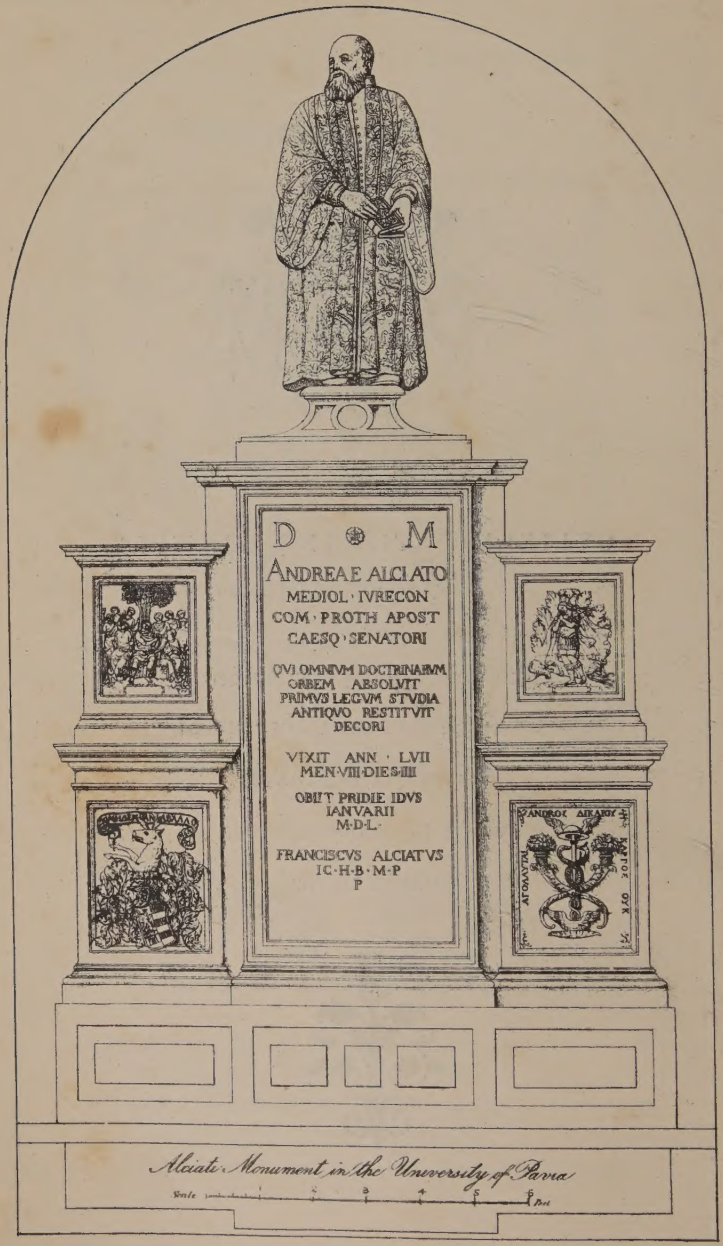
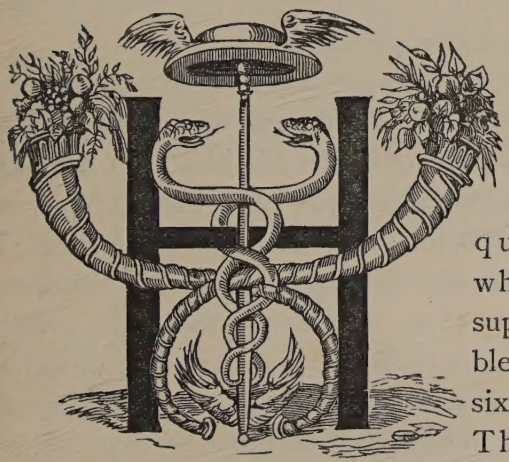


Alciati Monument in the University of Pavia

Scale 1 2 3 4 5 6 Feet

PREFACE.



ERMES and his symbols were amongst the most frequent figures which antiquity supplied to the emblematists of the sixteenth century. These symbols, with the motto, "VIRTVTI FORTVNA COMES," *Fortune is the companion of manly effort*, appear to have been applied by Alciati as early as 1522 to Jason Maine. Though not adopted by Alciati himself, they were,—the motto excepted,—sculptured on his tomb; they stand forth with the horns of plenty on his medallion, and were assigned to him by Giovio and Symeoni. For his chamber in his own house at Pavia he

set up his family arms, and the answer in Greek[1] which Alexander the Great is said to have returned to one who wished to know the chief element in his prosperous fortune — *ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΝΑΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ, By never procrastinating.*[2]

And very aptly do such expressive emblems and words figure forth his own career. Alciati began to build on the conviction that without effort and constancy of purpose there could be no success; and his experience is great encouragement for others to follow the same splendid guidance.

In preparing the Dissertations and Essays appended to my reprint of Geffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*, London 1866, 4to, and the account of emblem authors before and during the lifetime of Shakespeare, for my *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, London 1870, large 8vo, I found there was a great want of a tolerable bibliography of emblematical literature, — a want which has not yet been supplied. The meagreness of the ordinary bibliographers in this field may be estimated by the fact that Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, Paris 1865, 6 vols. 8vo, out of 31,872 contains but 113 titles of books of emblems, referred to in his *sixth* volume, col. 147 and cols. 992-995.

[1] See Piccaroli's *Anecdotes of Alciati, Appendix*, p. 311.

[2] The artist who executed the engraving in the *Museum Mazzuchellianum*, vol. i. tab. 1, No. 8, made a mistake in deciphering the Greek inscription round the symbols of Hermes; he transcribed the two ΑΛ's as if they were a single M.

Yet the *Catalogue des Livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Paris about 1750, 10 vols. folio, contains not less than 252 such titles.

Amongst the books that might be recommended as useful on this subject are:

Menestrier's *Jugement des Auteurs qui ont écrit des Devises*, prefixed to his *Philosophie des Images*, Paris 1695, 8vo; at pp. 1, 20, 67 are named 77 authors of emblem works.

Symbola et Emblemata quæ in Bibliothecâ Blandfordiense reperiuntur, [London] 1809, 4to; it gives 290 titles.

Catalogus Librorum quæ Bibliothecæ Blandfordiensi nuper additi sunt 1814, 4to; the titles are 11.

White Knights Library,—Catalogue of that distinguished and celebrated library. London 1819, 2 vols. 8vo [9.7 *in.* × 5.9].

The White Knights library was supposed to be peculiarly rich in books of emblems. It was formed by George, marquess of Blandford, afterwards (1817) fourth duke of Marlborough. He was born 1766 and died 1840. See also *Catalogus Librorum* in Bibliothecâ Blandfordiense, 1812.

Catalogo dei Libri d'Arte posseduti dal Conte Cicognara, Pisa 1821, 2 vols. 8vo; vol. i. pp. 318–334, Nos. 1880–1977; with 148 titles.

A beautiful MS. *Catalogue* by Henry White, the sacrist of Lichfield cathedral, a well-known collector of emblem books, contains the titles of many choice works in this kind of literature.

He died 8th April 1836, aged 75, and was a friend of Miss Seward's and of her circle. He is noticed in John Nichols' *Illustrations of Literary History*, vol. vii. p. 363.

Catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts bequeathed by Francis Douce, esq., *to the Bodleian library;* Oxford, at the university press, 1840, folio. The titles of emblem books in this catalogue are 313, and of Horæ 88.

Essay towards a collection of books relating to Proverbs, Emblems and Ana., being a Catalogue of those at Keir. London 1860. [Privately printed by sir William Stirling-Maxwell, bart.] Pages 111; the titles of emblem books 255.

Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. Van der Helle, Paris 1863,

8vo. Nos. 172–194 and 1608–1818 contain 211 titles of emblem books.

The Catalogue of the Books for sale of the Rev. Thomas Corser, March 1869, London, 8vo, has of emblem books 178 titles, and that of July 1870, 49 titles; total 227.

Catalogue of Books of Emblems, the property of an Amateur [J. W. Remington, esq.], sold 18th August 1869, London, 8vo; the titles number 358.

A MS. *Catalogue of Emblem-books*, now before me, extracted in September 1870 from the Royal library of Berlin, records 208 titles.

On the same plan as my *Bibliographical Catalogue of Alciati's Emblem-books*, I myself prepared a MS. *Catalogue*, with 189 titles, of the Emblem-books of Mr. Corser's library; and a *Catalogue*, with 304 titles, of those of H. Yates Thompson's, esq., at Thingwall near Liverpool. The MS. *Catalogue* of emblem works in the library of sir William Stirling-Maxwell, bart., at Keir, supplies the large number of 1390 titles.

From these and many other sources I have formed an *Index of Emblem Books*, of which the titles number upwards of 3000, and the authors above 1300.

It is therefore no narrow strip of European literature that has to be surveyed and mapped out, and of which a specimen is presented to the public in this *Bibliographical Catalogue*, — but it is a goodly territory, where men of note have had their avocations and homes, and multitudes have sought instruction and amusement. To many a scholar, at the present day, this emblem-land is unknown; but surely that is no valid reason why its peculiar wealth should still remain unchronicled?

As works of genius indeed, if we except those of

Jacob Catz, emblem-books can make no high pretensions; they were generally the trifles for a day, rather than monuments for ages; and though in many cases produced by men of great learning, skill and talent, they belong to the things which amuse and perchance delight, and not to those which invigorate and enlighten the soul.

But on estimating the value of the emblem-book literature, it should be remembered that nearly every motto had its corresponding pictorial device, and that the *impresas* or plates may not unfrequently be traced to the pencil or the graving tool of masters artistically renowned. For designs they were indebted to Alber Durer, 1471–1518; to Michael Angelo, 1474–1563; Titian, 1477–1576; Giulio Bonasone, 1498–1581; Prospero Fontana, 1512–1597; Parmigiano, 1555–1600; and Agostino Caracci, 1558–1602. Celebrated artists in wood and in copper worked at them: Olpe de Bergman, 1494; Hans Holbein, 1498–1554; Bernard Solomon, 1512–1598; Virgil Solis, 1514–1562; Hans Schäuffelein, 1517; Theodore de Bry, 1528–1598; Jost Ammon, 1539–1591; Gerard de Jode, 1541–1591; Tobias and John Chr. Stimmer, 1544 and 1552; John Wiercx, Jerome and Anthony, 1550, 1552 and 1554; Otho van Steen, 1556–1564; Crispin de Passe, 1560–1645; John Theodore de Bry, 1561; Boetius, Adam and Schelteius Bolswert, 1580 and 1586; Rob. Boissard, 1590; Christopher and Charles van Sichem, 1600; Wen-

ceslaus Hollar, 1607–1677, &c. Surely this is a roll of names, not unillustrious, that might create the desire to know something of the emblem-books which were deemed worthy of the efforts of their genius to adorn.

How the survey of emblem-literature just spoken of might be accomplished is in some degree indicated by this *Bibliographical Catalogue.* Notices of very many, if not of all the editions of Alciati's emblem-books have been brought together; and by similar efforts and a like method,—by combining contributions from various libraries, and by collating the emblem-works according to a common principle,—that which has been done for one might also be done for the whole community of emblem-book authors. An equal diffuseness with ours would have to be avoided, and probably some modifications of the plan be regarded as desirable.

The *Alphabetical Index* referred to would furnish valuable guidance in the researches demanded; and were one or more of the most extensive emblem-book collections made the basis for supplying the index with fuller titles, and a more exact nomenclature of printers' names and cities, and with dates,—there would soon be formed a large general catalogue, with which the catalogues of various important public and private libraries might readily be compared; so that the editions already named might be

verified, and unnoticed editions brought into the index and catalogue. Out of such labours in time would grow a thorough survey, a Doomsday-book for the entire kingdom of that emblem-literature, to which Alciati's illustrated epigrams serve as a type and an example.

As in the *Enquêtes* after editions of the Alciati emblem-books (see *Bibliog. Catalogue*, pp. 110 and 112, 331-334), an alphabetical index and a circular, named above, being printed, a copy of each should be sent to the libraries deemed hopeful of results; and during the coming in of the returns, the materials would be accumulating for carrying out the entire enterprise.

The postal arrangements of modern civilization offer facilities for carrying forward such a proposal which did not exist a few years ago; and the author therefore may be pardoned for suggesting what, he believes, would not be difficult to effect, but which must be left for some other person to accomplish.

A few words of explanation are demanded for inserting collations of several emblem works, as of Willet, Rollenhagen and Wither, which are proved to have been of independent origin. First of all, though entered they are not separately enumerated; and then authorities of repute had assigned them a direct derivation from Alciati, or an intimate connection with the Milan emblems; and it might have

been deemed no trifling defect had they remained undescribed or unrecorded. Again; an English version of Alciati's emblems is in readiness and has been announced for publication. This also is inserted (see *Bibliog. Catalogue*, p. 278); but it is premature to speak of it with the same certainty as of a book already printed.

The author has found the labour of preparing this work sweetened by many courtesies. He wishes that in return he could have issued less imperfect results of his Bibliographical Study. For the collations not made by himself he is not entirely accountable; for all others he stands at the judgment-seat, ready to amend what is defective, and to add what is shown to be wanting.

H. G.

KNUTSFORD,
May 10th, 1872.

Erratum. At page 166, last line, omit the words "where he had been buried."

N.B. This Edition is limited to 250 *copies.*

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MINIATURE (*l.*) bust [1.3×1.]: Inscription, "*André Alciat;*" source unknown.

BUST (*r.*) within border: in *Illustrium Jurisconsultorum Imagines;* Venetiis ap. Donatum Bertollum 1569, Dominicus Zenoi, f. 4to, No. 23 [5.5×4.2]; a series of copies on a reduced scale of the portraits in the edition of 1566.

PROFILE (*l.*) within an oval [2.7×2.], surrounded by the motto, "ANDREAS ALCIATVS CVM BITVRÍS PROFITERETVR; a bust with cap and gown,—features those of a younger man than in other portraits. From Antoine du Verdier's PROSOGRAPHIE (prosopographie), *ou description des personnes insignes;* Lyon, Ant. Gryphius, 1573, 4to.

BUST (*l.*): Left hand resting on a book; woodcut in *Icones Virorum literis illustrium ex typis Valkirchianis* . . . cum Elogiis per Nic. Reusnerum . . . Basiliæ 1589, 8vo, sheet O 4 [4.2×3.2].

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LIFE OF ALCIATI.

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THE

LIFE OF ANDREA ALCIATI.

Ingenii monumenta sui ampla reliquat
Heros, non ulla deperitura die;
Quæ legite, et uestris manibus persæpe tenete,
Nomen et Alciati concelebrate precor.
ELEGIA. Papiæ 1550.

N his own day, and for two or three generations after, the fame of Andrea Alciati, the jurisconsult of Milan, rested on his powers as a lecturer and expounder of the Roman law, and as an erudite and much trusted writer on questions connected with jurisprudence. He was also widely known and admired for his emblems, and for the neatly turned, classical, satirical and sometimes witty stanzas in Latin which he appended to them. According to Quadrio,[1] however, Alciati departed from the strict meaning of the word: "By metonymy," (a rhetorical figure in which one name is put for another,) "he transferred the term emblem to signify those epigrams or verses by which the resemblances, images, or symbols of things were interpreted and described,

[1] *Della Storia e della Ragione d' ogni Poesia*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 408, 409.

so that in a way, contrary to our proposition, he did not make an emblem, but an epigram, explanatory of a figure."

Yet this lighter literature of poetic art long floated on the stream of time, and even now, after the lapse of three hundred and fifty years, is far from being forgotten, and appears even to be reviving. "The ample monuments of Alciati's genius," comprised in several large folio volumes, are seldom heard of, and probably never studiously read; yet once more in behalf of "the hero" of the emblems, "which ye read and very often hold in your hands," the voice is raised:

"The name of Alciati I pray you to celebrate."

Andrea Alciati, or Alciato, for by both these names he is known to his countrymen, was born on the 8th of May 1492, at Alzate, a domain in the Milanese. He was an only son, and his parents were: Ambrogio Alciati, a decurion in his own country and an ambassador for it to the republic of Venice, and Margharita Landriana, a woman of high nobility, who without birth-pains, it is said, gave him to the light.[2]

The family was of considerable antiquity. Lucretia Alciata in 1385 was famous as a woman of high virtue and sanctity; Benedict Alciatus from 1321 to 1336 was general of the order of the Humiliati; and towards the end of the fifteenth century, Margarita Alciata became the wife of

[2] Argelati's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediol.*, tome i. coll. 24–27, says that Alciati's Life was written by Pancirollus, Cotta, Gravina, Bulartus, Myreus, P. Bayle and others; that poems in his praise by Bocchius, Ant. Cerulus, Hieron. Fuletus, G. Rubinus and Francis Vintra are printed in the Florentine edition of *Carmina illust. Poetarum Ital.*; that an account of the works written in his youth occurs in Baillet's *Jugemens des Sçavans*, tome v. art. xxxix. p. 42; and that Orations on his death were delivered by Al. Grimaldi, G. Trivultius and Stephen Pallavicini.

Respecting his Life, Character and Works, the writers I have chiefly consulted are Mignault or Minos, Tiraboschi, Mazzuchelli, De Bry and Boissard, P. Bayle, Birch and Luckman, Pancirollus, his celebrated pupil, Niceron, Goujet, Struvius, Argelati and Quadrio.

Gaspar Vicecomes who was illustrious both by blood and by fortune.[3]

The place of Alciati's birth was the homestead of the family, and derived its name from the Alce or Elk, a wild animal, according to Pliny,[4] with the strength of a horse and swiftness of a stag.

"Vir fuit italiæ claris productus in oris
ALCIATVS; Celeri deductum nomen ab alce."
IVLII ZVRLAE Carm. 1550.

The elk was adopted as the badge of the family, the shield of which was distinguished by a crown or coronet, and a spread-eagle standing on the two towers of a castle. Alciati himself, with pardonable vanity, chose for his motto a saying attributed to Alexander the Great: *ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΝΑΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ*, Nunquam procrastinandum, *Never procrastinating*, and affixed to it a descriptive stanza:

"The badge of Alciat's race the elk sustains, —
Bears in his hoofs, — '*Procrastination shun.*'
So answered Alexander that man's word, —
'How he in time so short so much had done?'
Never of will defer, — the elk declares,
That stronger, swifter, onward it may run."

Among the emblems there is another, the 118th, assigned to Alciati himself: VIRTVTI FORTVNA COMES, *Fortune the companion of Virtue.* The device is thus described:

"With serpents twain entwined, a wand with wings
Between Amalthēa's horns doth upright stand,
So symbolising men of powerful minds,
And skill'd to say, how plenty crowns the land."

[3] Tiraboschi, vol. vii. p. 1061; Mazzuchelli, vol. i. p. 354.

[4] Mignault's *Comment. in Emb.* iii. In the Aldine edition of the emblems, 1546, the elk has the horns of a stag; in the Lyons edition, 1551, the horns of an ox; and in the Plantinian, the horns neither of one animal nor the other, but approaching those of a goat. Paulus Jovius, in his *Descriptiones*, p. 85, l. 33–35, assigns the elk to Muscovy.

The earliest form of the device, in the Augsburg edition, 1531, simply represents Mercury's wand entwined by winged serpents ;[5] the Paris edition, 1534, adds to the original the winged cap and the cornucopiæ, the serpents being without wings ; and the Lyons edition of 1548 gives an ornate copy of the device in the Paris edition.

From being found both in the Augsburg and Paris editions this 118th emblem and its device would occur in the Milan collection of 1522. Alciati was then only in his 30th year, and would not have applied them to himself, for he was but just rising into fame and fortune. It was in honour of his old master, Jason Maïn, a noble jurisconsult, that Alciati wrote "of the serpents twain" that symbolise "the men of powerful minds." Giovio, therefore, in his *Dialogo*, p. 136, and Symeoni, in his *Sententiose Imprese*,[6] p. 127, are in error when they name the device of Mercury's wand &c. Alciati's own symbol. It might indeed be applied to him by others, as in the medal of Alciati engraved in De Gaetani's *Museum Mazzuchellianum*, vol. i. tab. l. No. 8, but it was not composed by him for himself.

Another conjecture, however, may be hazarded, that at an early period of his life Alciati had joined one of the academies or literary clubs of Italy, and that the motto and device of his 118th emblem had been assigned to him by his co-literati as the insignia of his membership.

From his early boyhood Andrea Alciati was accustomed to learning, and delighted in the studies to which he was

[5] As in the ornamental capital at the beginning of *The Life*, p. 1.

[6] The following is the Italian stanza to the Imprese "DELL" ALCIATO :

"*Mai non auenne che l'huom buono et dotto,*
Se ben pare hoggi che l'ignaro sia
Solo essaltato, hauesse carestia,
Ne ch'al vitio virtù stesse di sotto."

i.e. Never happens the chance that man learned and good,—
Although for the day the ignorant appear
Exalted alone, — dread scarcity should fear,
Nor that under vice hath holy virtue stood.

trained.[7] For some time he was especially favoured in Milan itself by the instructions of James Parrhasius, a Neapolitan, famous even at Rome for his skill in rhetoric and in all polite literature. Under him, as Tiraboschi testifies, vol. vii. p. 1061, he was made acquainted with the Greek and the Latin tongues, and that excellent teacher had some scholars who were even equal to himself. At Pavia, where for a while Alciati studied jurisprudence, Jason de Maino was his tutor, and at Bologna Carlo Ricini.

In his 15th year Alciati composed his *Paradoxes of the Civil Law*, and according to his Address to the Reader, on publishing them in 1529, it was twelve years before, or in 1517, that they were first of all collected. His great industry is apparent from the fact that in 1513, when he was but 21 years of age, "his Notes on the last three books of Justinian's *Institutes* were written by him in the short space of fifteen days."[8]

After thus cultivating generally the powers of his mind, and adding to his stores of knowledge of the law both in Pavia and in Bologna, he attained at the latter university the Doctoriate of Laws, 1514, in the 22nd year of his age. For a brief space, not more than for four years, he followed his chosen profession at Milan, and gave full promise of that eminence to which he soon after attained. Now and until her death devotion to his mother's comfort occupied many of his thoughts; and on the authority of a letter in Bayle's *Dictionary*, at this time also he was married, but to what lady is not recorded, neither did his wife accompany him when he left Milan. She may have died young; at any rate there were no children surviving at the time of Alciati's death.

[7] Grimaldi's *Oratio:* "Scarcely from the cradle had he been led forth, when he gave those signs of highest promise of natural power and of virtue which led all to predict concerning him what Socrates in Plato augured concerning Isocrates."

[8] Tiraboschi, vol. vii. p. 1061.

From the date, Milan, January 5th 1518, affixed to the dedication of his work "*Prætermissionum*," libri ii., it was just before leaving Milan for Avignon that he issued another proof of his untiring labours. He has inscribed it "to the illustrious royal senator and most famous of jurisconsults, Jacobus Minutius." It is a tractate on law rather than a volume, yet served well to support his rising fame.

In 1518 he was called to Avignon as professor of law, with a stipend of 500 scudi, about 105*l.* sterling, says Tiraboschi, vol. vii. pp. 1061, 1062; or, according to Mignault 600 crowns, equal to 125*l.*, reckoned a considerable sum in those days. Among the emblems, No. cxlii., is one to himself from Albutius, a poet and jurisconsult of Orleans, or rather of Milan, persuading him to withdraw from the dissensions of Italy and to become a professor in France. The argument is couched under the not unflattering legend of natural history that the Persian apple when transplanted ripens into the luscious peach. The stanza was to this effect:

"These fruits,—what tree has borne?—a stranger to our clime?
In eastern Persia first the tree appears;
Of native land and growth a poison at its prime—
Transplanted it improves;—sweet peaches here it bears.
Like to a tongue its leaf,—its apples like the heart:
Learn Alciat, far from hence thy life to live;
From native home removed, thou gain'st a richer part,
And wiser much in thought, a nobler lore wilt give."

This emblem was undoubtedly anterior to Alciati's Milan collection of 1522; it was so acceptable to him that he gave it a device,[9] and inserted it among the earliest of

[9] The device for the 142nd emblem underwent several changes and improvements. In the roughly executed Augsburg edition, 1531, B 5, it is simply the trunk of a forest tree, with two or three fruit-bearing branches, such as a child might draw; in the Paris edition, 1534, p. 34, which Alciati himself approved, the device becomes a shapely tree, with a servant offering a basket of the de-

his own emblems, both in Steyner's edition of 1531, and in Wechel's of 1534. We do not doubt then that it had weight with our jurisconsult in forming his resolution to accept the Chair of Law in Avignon.

We may have committed a trespass by introducing so long an illustration of the simple fact that persuasion was used to induce Alciati to leave Milan and occupy so honourable a position at Avignon, but we have undertaken not simply a brief life but the study of the emblems, and it is necessary occasionally to speak of them as well as of the author.

Of the eight orations by Alciati which have been published, the first marks his entrance on his duties at Avignon; it is entitled "An Oration in praise of the Civil Law, delivered at Avignon at the beginning of the study."[10] Fullest evidences were given in this university of the professor's industry and power; and his audience often numbered 800 persons. His *Book on Single Combat,* dedicated "to Francis, most christian king of the French," bears the date of "Avignon on the calends of March, 1529," doubtless a misprint for 1519. In 1529 our author was professor in Bourges, where Francis was one of his auditors.

Not unnaturally, however, though it has been attributed to him as a fault, Alciati, having a wife and a mother to maintain in Milan, was displeased at the inexactness with which his salary and his *honoraria* were paid. With him it was not sufficient to feast his eyes on the fair dishes of Persian peaches; he must taste them and dispense them as well. At the end of three years, Tiraboschi says "in the year 1521," he returned to Milan.

In this year, according to Jortin, vol. i. p. 259, that famous scholar Erasmus "contracted a friendship with the learned

veloped fruit; and in the editions of the Lyons series, 1548–51, in Latin, Spanish, French and Italian, the design is well filled up and executed, and the servant is laden with the fruit in baskets both on his head and in his hand.

[10] See *Alciati Opera,* Basileæ 1582, vol. iv. col. 1022.

Alciat," and Tiraboschi, quoting the *Epistles of Erasmus*, tome i. sp. 600, declares that Erasmus wrote to him a letter of congratulation, in which he highly praised "his learning, almost incredible for his age, and his pure morals, accompanied by every grace."[11]

The notions of Alciati concerning the religious orders and the church were very similar to those of Erasmus (Jortin, vol. i. pp. 259, 260). Of this he gave a remarkable instance in a long and laboured letter which he sent to a particular friend.[12] "This friend, Bernard Mettius, was a learned, modest, ingenious and virtuous man; but all on a sudden, forsaking his domestics, his friends, and his aged mother who stood in need of his assistance, he turned monk in his 40th year, to the infinite grief of Alciat, who drew up an excellent dehortation from entering into that state, omitting no argument that could be urged to show the folly and the danger of making such a choice and of mixing with such associates. He concludes with exhorting his friend most earnestly, since the time of his probation was not yet elapsed, to return to his senses, and to do his duty towards God and man. Whether Alciat succeeded in this attempt or not we cannot tell."

At Avignon one of Alciati's friends was of the same Jewish family with Lopes Stunica, author of *Annotationes contra Erasmum*, fol., 1520, and of *Blasphemiæ et impietates Erasmi*, fol., Romæ 1522. In the presence of cardinal Ximenes[13] Stunica expressed his wonder how any man could waste his time in reading the Greek New Testament, published by Erasmus in 1516, and characterised it as trash and full of monstrous faults. The cardinal immediately replied: "Would to God that all authors wrote such trash!

[11] To the same effect is the testimony of Thuanus, lib. viii. p. 264, "Alciatus primus purioris literaturæ et antiquitatis cognitione ad juris scientiam."

[12] Besides Jortin see Mazzuchelli, i. *And. Alciati.*

[13] Jortin, vol. i. p. 247.

Either produce something better of your own, or give over prating against the labours of others." Alciati's opinion of Stunica was that he was learned in Hebrew literature, but "in what relates to Greek his remarks are the veriest trifles."

The second edition of the Greek New Testament was issued for Erasmus at Bâle by John Froben in 1519. Alciati severely blamed the printer for insulting the Italians with the symbolical frontispiece in which Herman or Arminius the great German leader, A.D. 10, had conquered Quintilius Varus the Roman general; but the sting of the insult was in the motto applied to Varus: "Tandem vipera sibilare desiste," *Viper, at length give over hissing.*

In reference to the outbreak against the Church of Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it has been said: "Erasmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it," but neither Erasmus nor Alciati had any admiration for the roughness of Luther's manners and invectives. The jurisconsult did not really concern himself at all about the reformer's cause, but simply intimated, "that perhaps it was of public interest that some one should restrain the licence of the Roman court, and defend even wrong things, so that at length right things might be obtained." Alciati's writings show him to have been of the Catholic faith, and adverse to all superstition and violence.

Soon after his return to Milan, namely in 1522, Alciati is credited by Brunet and others with having first printed a book of emblems, containing *one hundred* subjects, but which was so badly executed that in disgust he withdrew it, and destroyed whatever copies of it he could. When we come to the proper place in our *Bibliographical study,* — to the *Editions of the Emblems in the order of their date,* — we shall speak fully of this Milan collection gathered by him into a volume, and known in manuscript among his friends, but probably not published to the world: they were the pro-

ductions of his early manhood, thrown off from an instructed mind almost without any study, as the occasion or the fancy dictated. Wechel's Paris edition of his emblems, 1534, to the pages of which we refer, is almost identical with the Milan volume of 1522,— and there it is evident that a considerable number betoken the Young-man intent on filial affection, pp. 9, 73, — the Student awakened to tender feelings that literature itself could not inspire, p. 75, — or the Lover strongly impressed by Cupid's power, pp. 8, 11, 69, 77, 80, 102, — or the Husband whom love and reverence alike attach to his wife, pp. 14, 16, 46, 65, 100, — and fondness to his children, p. 48. Stanzas are directed against Illicit Love, pp. 21, 29, 33; Avarice, pp. 15, 55; and Gluttony, pp. 54, 91. There are also several emblems, at pp. 6, 10, 12, 16, 31, 76, 85, 86, 111, 115, on Alliances, Concord, Fidelity, Friendship after death, the Mind and not the Beauty, the Love of virtue, Peace, the Excellent citizen, and Mindfulness of one's country. These all give evidence to a very healthy state of the intellect, and of the affections; and prove that whatever were the dreams of ambition or the desire after wealth they did not stifle the higher claims of duty. At the beginning of his career there were noble thoughts and purposes stirring in his soul, and these would affect the tenour of his whole life.

What Alciati named emblems, Quadrio, as we have mentioned before on p. 1, regarded as epigrams, descriptive of figures or devices. Of epigrams, Alciati was a very fertile writer. It does not appear at what period of his life he composed these, but they may, in part at least, be ranked with the *tyrocinia* or productions of his youth. In 1745 there still existed in manuscript *three* books of epigrams,[14] and in 1753[15] mention is made that among existing manuscripts were *Epigrammatum*, libri v., in the library of the Visconti, attributed to Alciati in his youth. He also ren-

[14] Argelati, vol. i. coll. 24–26. [15] Mazzuchelli, vol. i. pp. 370, 371.

dered into Latin verse the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, and wrote Annotations on Ausonius.[16]

For seven years Alciati followed the duties of his profession in Milan, but neither of his domestic nor of his public life are the records known. Envious of his success, or jealous of his influence, enemies grew up around him. This was a sufficient cause why in 1529 he should listen to the tempting offers of the king of France, Francis I., who was himself a skilful and generous judge of talent. The king summoned him to the university of Bourges, which had been founded by S. Louis about 1260, and re-established by Louis XI. in 1463. In this city he had a large auditory, and the dauphin coming one day to hear him made him "a gift of a medal of gold of the value of 400 crowns."[17] The gallant king himself sometimes attended his lecture room, and in the second year of his professorship increased his income to 1200 crowns, a very large payment for those days, but earned by untiring application. Alciati's sojourn in France added mightily to his fame; he was full of vigour, and both projected and carried on to a completion works which, in the estimation of his learned contemporaries, were worthy of eternal memory.

"It is not to my purpose," writes his chief biographer, Claude Mignault, "to run through each single thing which Alciati accomplished during that five years residence at Bourges, but I cannot omit the speech which he made at the moment when Francis, the king, entered his lecture

[16] This will serve to explain a remark in Grimaldi's *Funeral Oration*, p. 6, respecting the Emblems, Epigrams, Elegies, Comedies and other Poems of which Alciati was the author.

[17] Tiraboschi, vol. vii. p. 1063. This "medal of gold," however, could not be the same with that mentioned by Argelati, vol. ii. col. 1936, B. "There is preserved in C. J. Marian Mazzuchelli, a very learned man of Brescia, a medal of our Alciati, which on the back part exhibits the Caduceus of Mercury and a double Cornucopiæ accompanied by these marks 'ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΟΥΚ ΑΠΟΛΛΥΤΑΙ,'" *The fruit of the just man perishes not.* See also at p. 3, emb. 118.

room and remained present. 'That one praise,' observed the lecturer, 'is not the least among many, so to have charmed the mind of my auditor, that the royal majesty in person, has appeared to lower the fasces, the ensigns of his power, in honour of myself, while sitting on the throne of jurisprudence.'"[18]

If, during his recent residence in Milan, Alciati did not present to his friend, the very learned Conrad Peutinger, the scholar and statesman of Augsburg, a copy of his collection of emblems, he must have done so sometime in 1530, not long after commencing his professorial duties at Bourges; for the printing of the little work was finished by Steyner, February 28th 1531. This Augsburg imprint contains only 104 emblems, and is, therefore, almost identical with the earlier collection of Milan, — the *Emblem Album*, we venture to name it, of one hundred subjects. Could we point out the *few* that are additional, though the original of 1522 may have utterly perished, we should in fact be able to name the very *hundred* that were first of all composed.

Thus the emblem on leaf A 2 *v*, Steyner's edition 1531, FOEDERA ITALORVM, appears to relate to the league of 1526; emblem, C 2 *v*, AVXILIVM NVNQVAM *deficiens*, belongs to a time later than 1522; emblem, C 8, FIRMISSIMA CONVELLI *non posse*, cannot be dated earlier than 1529; and emblem, D 6, IN STVDIOSVM *captum amore*, according to Guicciardini, was written against a certain Jerome of Padua, and may therefore bear date nearer to 1531 than to 1522. Striking these emblems from the 104

[18] The 7th of Alciati's *Orations*, bearing the date 1529, was delivered before Francis Valois, king of the French, and marked the year when he began his duties at Bourges. The same year he dedicated to Francis his book *On single Combat*. On the kalends of May 1529 he addressed his work *Concerning the Signification of Words* to the archbishop of Bourges; and in September 1529 he issued an edition of his *Paradoxes*. A year this showing the utmost activity of labour.

in the Augsburg edition, we can name exactly the 100 emblems which make up the Milan collection.[19]

The Latin stanzas addressed by Alciati to Conrad Peutinger have remained the Preface to nearly every edition of the emblems. The strain in which they are written not only manifests the close intimacy which existed between the two friends, but also points out that the emblems had been chiefly the amusement of the festive or sportive hours of life, of leisure and relaxation, and not the serious engagement of study and mental power. Mr. J. B. Yates, in his *Sketch*, p. 21, remarks: "His emblems, composed in Latin verse, evince much learning and observation, and are pronounced by the elder Scaliger to be, '*beautiful, chaste and elegant, though not deficient in strength,* conveying sentiments such as may be advantageously applied to civil life.'" [20]

At a period considerably later, about 1680, Aurelio Amalteo, who translated Alciati's emblems into Italian verses,[21] and dedicated them to the emperor Leopold, thus addressed his sovereign in praise of the author, "Amongst all the kinds of Poetry there is perhaps not any more profitable than the Moral, and amongst Moral Poets there is peradventure none more profitable than Alciati, who collecting the very marrow of the Greek and Latin writers, set before the world a quintessence of learning and an Elixir-Vitæ of erudition."

This is undoubtedly true, and yet, the author himself being witness, his emblems were ethical wisdom at play, pledged indeed to truth and right, yet running gambols

[19] For the full statement of the subject see *The Catalogue* of the Editions of the Emblems of Alciati, Nos. 1 and 2.

[20] "Dulcia sunt, pura sunt, elegantia sunt: sed non sine neruis. Sententiæ verè tales, vt etiam ad vsum ciuilis vitæ conferant."

[21] See a splendid manuscript, in large 4to, of 146 leaves, now in the Keir library, "*Gli Emblemi dell' Alciati*; it gives the original Latin text, devices newly etched, and Amalteo's Italian version; and though ready for the press is not known to have been printed.

among flowers and leaves, and ornaments of rock work. Their composition was aided by a memory rich in classical treasures, and directed as much to amuse as to instruct.[22]

Lightly and, it may be said, trippingly does the emblematist address his friend:

"While boys the nuts beguile, and youths the dice,
And sluggish men the figured board detains;
For festive hours each emblem and device
We forge, that artist's hand illustrious feigns.
As some on gowns have skill the tufts to weave,
And some to fashion shields with borders wide,
So work most pressing others idly leave
In silent notes to write from tide to tide.
Cæsar supreme rich coins on thee bestows
And choicest works of skill from ancient days,
I will a poet give a poet's vows,
And, Chonrad, of my love this pledge I pay."

While resident at Bourges Alciati sometimes visited the city of Paris, at a distance of 125 miles, and delivered lectures there. On one of these occasions he made the acquaintance of a "celebrated printer, the father of a family of printers," Christian Wechel, and to him communicated his discontent respecting the Augsburg edition of his emblems in 1531. His own plan was to call them in and destroy them: but Wechel offered better counsel; it was that he should correct them, and issue a more exact and a more artistic volume.[23] This counsel prevailed, and will be set forth when we treat of Wechel's edition of the emblems, Paris 1534; "the first correct edition," says Mr. Yates in

[22] Such is the exact view of them which Wolphgang Hunger takes in the preface to his edition of Alciati's emblems, Paris 1542, "turned into German rhymes."

[23] See Wechel's preface and dedication to the Paris edition of Alciati's emblems, 1534, where express reference is made to the Germans, *i.e.* to those of Augsburg (for nowhere else among Germans had the emblems been published), for having done their work so carelessly "as if for the sake of lessening its estimation."

his *Sketch*, p. 21, and "illustrated by beautiful wood-engravings."

About the year 1534, according to Mignault,[24] Francis Sforza,[25] duke of Milan, touched by the love and glory of his now famous subject, re-called him to his native land. Alciati is said to have been reluctant to leave Bourges, where he enjoyed both honour and emolument; but to take away all reasonable excuse for remaining abroad, and to sweeten the return home, his sovereign invested him with senatorial rank, and, though commanding him to undertake the duties of instruction at Pavia, endowed him with an ample income.

It was on leaving Bourges and seeking Italy again that, in testimony of a grateful mind towards the city and university which had manifested so much good-will towards himself, he wrote a four-lined Latin stanza which finds no place in any of his emblem-books. It may indeed be understood satirically, though involving a compliment to the people who for five years had so hospitably received him.[26]

"Thou loving city Bourges! thee loving, unwillingly I leave;
Through summers five the land wast thou inhabited by me.
Now need there is from wether sheep to sucking calves to go,—
Therefore farewell! and fortunate wool-gathering be to thee."

It is implied that the calves of Italy are less docile than the lambs of France, but, although the verse was candidly written by a man of candid mind, some evil-speaking trifler who, for some cause, was unfriendly to Alciati, so took up

[24] Andreæ Alciati *Vita.*

[25] The son of Ludovico Sforza, who was the friend of Leonardi da Vinci; but this Francis Sforza was seated on the ducal throne only for a short time, and this may have been the reason why Alciati so soon quitted Pavia.

[26] "*Vrbs Biturix inuitus amans te desero amantem,*
Quinque per æstates terra habitata mihi:
Nunc opus ad vitulos est à veruicibus ire,
Ergo vale, et felix sit tibi lanicium."
Vita ALCIATI, Paris 1602.

the thought and buffeted it about, that in reply he calumniously sung the same number of lines thus :[27]

"Not us but our monies did Alciat love,
And silently vanished from hosts he despised;
Sucking calves he can feed: but wherever he rove,
As he shivers with cold, our wool must be prized."

So Alciati left Bourges and took up his residence as a professor in Pavia in 1534 or 1535, for the exact date is uncertain. It was probably with the second of his orations that he commenced his labours in this university. Here he was engaged to fill an active part in re-invigorating and guiding the studies; and in an oration which he publicly delivered there, says Mignault, "himself confesses that he had been recalled from distant regions by the Prince Sforza, who had acquaintance only with the commendation of his worth; and that he had been adorned with a diploma of highest dignity, and endowed with an ample honorarium in his office of professor." This first sojourn at Pavia was of short continuance. It was marked however by the publication of one of his larger works, dated May 1536, namely, *Parergωn*, libri xii., dedicated "to the Baron à Waltpürg hereditary standard-bearer to the Sacred Roman Empire."

He soon withdrew to Bologna, "the nurse of studies,"—the oldest and still the firſt of the universities of Italy, founded by Theodosius II. near to the middle of the fifth century, and restored by Charlemagne. Here for five entire years[28] Alciati taught the civil law; and with celebrity so

[27] "*Non nos, sed nostros nummos Alzatus amabat,*
Qui tacitus spretis vanuit hospitibus,
Ille ergo valeat vitulos pasturus: at illum
Nostra vel horrentem frigore lana teget."
Vita ALCIATI, Paris 1602.

[28] The three orations which were delivered by him "in the schools of Bologna" in 1537, 1539 and 1540, intimate the time of his residence in this university.

great that no man, we are told, who left that university, was deemed sufficiently learned, unless he had been one of his scholars. To the great professor of law Homer's line concerning Teiresias, the renowned soothsayer of Thebes, has been applied: "*Οἷος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκίαι ἀΐσσουσαι*,"[29] *He breathed and shadows vanish.*

From Alciati's address to Paulus Jovius,[30] the two, about the years 1539-40, were evidently on terms of great intimacy; for under date "Pavia, 9. October M.D.XIL." *i.e.* 1539, Alciati wrote to him in this strain: "Concerning these Histories of thy Times, we will treat more eloquently and pleasantly, when I shall embrace thee in the Musēum, to which thou dost invite me, who am so soon about to depart from Pavia to my Buccinascium. From thence through Alciate the village of my own family I can in three hours, even on a slow mule, be carried to thee. Then will we go fishing together, and, on my word, to each one of us lame in the feet, it will be more convenient to be conveyed in boats, than on mules. Then gentler jokes will we scatter, and it will be allowed me, surveying so many portraits of men, to behold myself somewhat more comely in feature than I may be *in reality*. For, as I hear, thou hast placed me in the middle[31] between men of eternal name, Erasmus and Budæus; so that while living I may be seen for honour's sake among the good men that are dead, which happened to M. Varro alone in the library of Augustus."

The French had invaded Piedmont in 1536, but Charles V., collecting his forces in the north of Italy, drove them off, and in turn invaded France, but without permanent success, and withdrew again into Italy. In 1538 a truce was

[29] Odyss. K, line 495, — the true reading being "*ὄιῳ πεπνύσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσιν*."

[30] See Giovio's *Histories of his Time*, folio, Basil 1578.

[31] In Jovio's *Elogia*, folio, 2nd ed., Basil 1577, the portrait of Budæus follows next after that of Erasmus.

made between Charles and Francis. This may explain how it was, that at the command of the emperor, Alciati was recalled to Pavia in 1540 or 1541, and resided there about two years. In nothing did he remit the industry to which he had been accustomed. His example, it has been said, was that of Hercules, to whom, according to the tragic writer, the end of one labour was simply a step that prepared for another.

The changes of abode for our peripatetic professor were not yet over. His next temptation came from Hercules d'Este, who succeeded his father as duke of Modena in 1534. The honourable conditions which the duke offered prevailed upon him to visit Ferrara. As was usual with him he recited here an inaugural oration in 1542.[32] Extraordinary expenses were incurred this year in bringing the celebrated *Andrea Alciati* to Ferrara.[33] The great jurisconsult was treated with extreme liberality; albeit showing that his expectations were not inconsiderable. He fulfilled however all the hopes that were formed concerning him, and soon restored the prostrate fortunes of the university. Both by the living voice and by the pen he set forth plans that greatly benefited its actual state and promised advantages for the future.

The exact time of his quitting Ferrara has not been ascer-

[32] See Alciati's *Opera omnia*, 4 vols. folio, Basiliæ 1582, vol. iv. coll. 1042.

[33] See Cittadella's *Notizie* relative to Ferrara, vol. i. p. 282. Also a letter which I received May 10th 1870, from Signor Luigi Napoleone Cav. Cittadella, librarian of the university of Ferrara, contains this passage: "Andrea Alciati fu per qualche anni professore in questa Università, cominciando dal 1542, in cui per farlo venire a Ferrara, il Comune mandò due volte appósitamente a Milano: indi gli si diedero Lire marchessane 545 a termini del suo capitolato e Ducati 100 d'oro pel viaggio da Pavia a Ferrara, ed altri Ducati 50 d'oro per l'affitto della casa di' abitazione: finalmente si fecero riparare i locali delle scuole." At 9½*d.* each, the "Lire marchessane 545" were, in English money, about 45*l.* sterling; and "Ducati 100, d'oro," at 8*s.* 9*d.* each, 43*l.* 17*s.* sterling, — the two sums no trifling viaticum, in spite of the bad roads, for travelling the 130 miles from Pavia to Ferrara. There was also an outfit for his house, and his lecture room was put into repair.

tained, but his stay there could not have been long; for after other toils and several other journeys he sought Pavia once more in 1547, but from the index to the acts of this university it may be gathered that he was there at the end of 1546.[34] Here he set up the final tablet of his fortunes, and for about three years more he continued to teach and write, never intermitting his studies, and never deterred by difficulties or vexations.

A short time before his final return to Pavia the sons of Aldi at Venice, June 1st 1546, published for Alciati a second volume of emblems, 86 in number. None of them had before been given to the light. They were the result of various hours of leisure since 1534, the date of Wechel's edition of the first volume. The Aldine editor avers, almost as if the fact was doubted, that his volume was really printed from a true original manuscript,[35] and that unless it had been so he would have acted no otherwise than to have attempted, "*ἐκ τῆς ψάμμου σχοίνιον πλέκειν*," *To weave a rope from sand.* This strong asseveration leaves just a crevice for the suspicion to creep through, that these Venice emblems, or a portion of them, first of all constituted the additional emblems, as addenda to his Paris edition of 1542, of which Wechel was disappointed through the treachery of a famous engraver,[36] "*insignis perfidia sculptoris.*"

The dedication of the small Venice volume by Petrus Rhusithinus truly declares of it: "Its sportiveness, examples, jokes, learning, culture, variety, elegance, devices and many other things will all yield delight."

After his return to Pavia, the works which he selected for the purpose were, under his own authority and recognition, printed in *four* volumes folio, by Michael Isingrin

[34] See Tiraboschi, vol. vii. p. 1066.

[35] See Preface to *Emblematum libellus.* Venetiis 1546.

[36] See Preface to Wechel's edition, Parisiis 1542. Who was the famous engraver?

of Bâle, and bear the date of 1549, though volume second is dated 1546. Another folio volume of RELIQUA, *remnants*, was issued at Lyons in 1548. The Lyons and the Bâle editions contain exactly the same number of emblems, 201; on the same subjects, in the same order and with the same text. This was almost inevitable, for both were equally authorized and reviewed and enriched by Alciati himself.

Another large folio volume, though not then printed, belongs to this period of Alciati's life for its preparation or completion;[37] it is his *Very celebrated Answers*. The dedication "to Philip of Austria, King of the Spains, and Duke of Milan" is dated from Pavia "Nonis Augusti" 1557, and was penned by a member of the Alciati family, Franciscus Alciatus, also a jurisconsult; the work is a vast repository of "counsels' opinions."

These things show very plainly with what perseverance Alciati carried on his labours to the very end of his life. He never put off the harness. Indeed his natural vigour of mind did not fail. He was ever engaged, either in his professional duties, or in adding to his works on literature and jurisprudence, and superintending their publication, if he did not personally edit them. For three, or four years at most, he now taught in Pavia, "with a constant crowd of learned men from all quarters," says Grimaldi, "gathering around him."

In immediate succession to the Venice volume of the additional emblems, there appeared of all that Alciati had published on the subject, the collection of them into one series by Sebastian Gryphæus of Lyons in 1548, and that by Michael Isingrin of Bâle just at the same time, if not a little earlier. Roville's Latin edition also takes its date at this time. Without any reliable authority it has been averred that the Spanish translation of the emblems was executed and

[37] Namely, "*D. Andreæ Alciati Mediolanensis, Iurisconsulti Celeberrimi Responsa Libris nouem digesta.*"

printed as early as 1540, but if it had been it could only have contained the 113 emblems of Wechel's editions; and the Spanish translation by Bernardino Daza is expressly declared in August 1548 to have been newly done.[38] An edition with the Latin text arranged according to the subjects, but with devices for only a portion of them, was issued as mentioned above, by the same Roville in 1548. The first edition of Aneau's French translation from the same press in 1549 was accompanied by the first edition of Marquale's Italian translation; and in 1550 the Latin text by the same printer reappeared. For a full collection and notice of these editions reference must be made to our *Bibliographical Catalogue.* They are mentioned here to show how actively the work of sending forth the text and translations of his emblems occupied our author until the end came for all mortal labour.

There had now been printed, with the author's approval, 201 emblems including those on trees. The Augsburg, the Paris and the Venice collections had been gathered into one; the heterogeneous mass was arranged into its cognate parts, and order introduced instead of the old confusion. About or during the year before his death the various collections were "Denuo ab ipso Autore recognita,"[39] *Afresh reviewed by the author himself.* The substantial form, together with devices, was then given to the entire work, and the *eleven* additional emblems, published in 1549, 1550 and 1551,[40] were already in the hands of the printers,—also direct from the author. "The Privilege,"

[38] See *Extraict du Priuilege du Roy*, in *Los Emblemas de Alciato*, traducidos en rhimas Españolas. In Lyon por Gulielmo Rovillo." 8vo, 1549.

[39] See the titlepages of the emblem-editions of that time.

[40] Grimaldi's *Oratio* may allude to this 1551 edition as being already prepared or in preparation: "*Non nulla extant Epigrāmata elegāter admodū cōscripta propediem (ut spero) publicū acceptura,*" but probably he refers to the epigrammata which Alciati left in manuscript, and which have remained unpublished to this day.

granted to Guillaume Roville, bookseller, and to Macé Bonhomme, printer in 1548, not only empowered them "to print a little book entituled the Emblems of Alciati, which they have caused to be prepared and set in order by General Titles, and common places, for the more easy understanding of the same, and to adopt new figures for the emblems, which hitherto had not been done by them nor designed," but also mentioned expressly, "several new emblems which they have reset of the said author that had not been printed, digested in their order and adorned with figures."[41]

When Roville and Bonhomme thus collected into a volume the previous editions, in which the emblems together amounted to 201, they omitted a single emblem because of its grossness, and the new emblems,[42] amounting to 11, made up the whole number to 211 emblems, and to as many illustrative designs or devices. None of the following editions of the emblems contained more than 211, until in 1621 Tozzius of Padua most unadvisedly restored the blot, and gave the 212 emblems, — an example never elsewhere approved nor adopted until Aurelio Amalteo, about 1680, inserted the text but not the device.

All special remarks on the respective editions of the Alciati emblems we reserve to their proper place in the *Bibliographical Catalogue*. The authorization and supervision, if not the actual preparation of a full and complete edition, occupied the writer's latest years; and the *full stream* which was poured forth in 1549–1551, near the time of his death, was in all its parts set flowing by him-

[41] The French text is here subjoined from a feeling of uncertainty as to the exact meaning: "plusieurs Emblemes nouuelles qu'ils ont recouuertes du dict Autheur non plus misez en lumiere, digerées en leur ordre, & figurées."

[42] In the *Appendix* to our *Catalogue* will be given the *Mottoes and Titles to the whole of Alciati's Emblems*, and there will be seen at a glance the GROWTH of the Entire Series, and consequently when the rejected *one* was inserted, and the *eleven* added. –

self. If, with Quadrio, we regard the emblems as figured epigrams, what were given to the light formed but a portion of the whole. Among the manuscripts which Alciati left[43] mention is made both of *five books of epigramms* and also of *three*; and if these possessed the characteristics of the emblems that have been published, there needed but the artist's pencil and the graver's tool to increase three or four fold our store of jocular, satirical or didactic emblems by the jurisconsult of Milan. With the old lady, who complimented Dr. Parr on his Spital sermon, even of what we have we may here and there be inclined to say, "Enough, and more than enough."

By nature Alciati was endowed with a sound and vigorous body; he was tall of stature; and, as his portraits intimate, of corpulent or muscular frame; his eyes were open and prominent;[44] his lips were thick, and his colour fuscous, which may be interpreted a sun-burnt or swarthy brown. Of his capacious and untiring mind there can be no doubt; his works, whether light or serious, are the witnesses for many years. On account of increasing age he might have lessened the literary and legal labours to which he was devoted; but when he was approaching his 58th year he had not been known to relax his studies. Then first a pain in his feet, to which he alluded in a letter to Paulus Jovius[45] in 1539 or 40, became more and more frequent and severe, attended by the symptoms of continuous fever. In fourteen days his bodily strength was worn away; but with his senses bright and unfailing he yielded his soul to God at the beginning of the year 1550, January 12th, or, as Grimaldi's funeral oration affirms, the 11th of that month, having lived, as his epitaph records, "57 years 8 months and 4 days."

[43] See Argelati's *Bibliotheca*, vol. i. coll. 24-26, and Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori*, vol. i. p. 371.

[44] See Argelati, vol. i. col. 24.

[45] See p. 17 of this work; also Grimaldi's *Oration*.

His will was made only on the 10th of January 1550, and according to the custom of that day is entitled, "The Testament of the Magnificent Jurisconsult Master Andrea Alciati, son of the late Magnificent Master Ambrose Alciati."[46] It had been his intention to found with his great wealth a college for students of the law, but some insult, of which he fancied himself the object, entirely changed his purpose, and he constituted as his heirs "the Magnificent Doctor of Laws Master Francisco Alciati,[47] and Master Baptista Alciati, and Master Andrea Alciati a son of a former Baptista." These were probably his nephews or cousins.

At the time of the "great Alciati's" death there was another member of his family living, whom some have incorrectly named his brother, and others only his cousin.[48] This was John Paul Alciati, educated as a physician, but for some time holding a military appointment. He was one of that society of Italians, including Socinus and Blandrata, who held antitrinitarian doctrines, and sought both to amend the abuses of the Church of Rome and to change some of its dogmas. He was living as late as the year 1579 or even 1586, and this alone renders it improbable that he was a brother to our Andrea Alciati.

Very honourably was Andrea Alciati buried at Pavia, in the basilica of that city, the church of the Holy Epiphany. The monument to his memory was erected by one of his

[46] See Argelati, vol. ii. col. 1935.

[47] Francisco Alciati was born in 1522,—and was "magni Alciati genialis." He was celebrated at the university of Pavia. By Pius IV. he was appointed Inter-nuncio to the king of Bohemia, and successively bishop of Claramont and Anensis, and in 1562 cardinal-deacon. He was also one of the interpreters at the Council of Trent. He was a man of high erudition, and collected a famous library. He died in 1580, also at the age of 58. See Argelati, vol. i. coll. 28–29. His epitaph ends thus :

"*Virtute vixit*" : in Virtue he lived.
"*Memoria vivit*" : in Memory lives.
"*Gloria vivet*" : in Glory will live.

[48] See Wallace's *Antitrinitarian Biography*, vol ii. pp. 112–117. 3 vols. 8vo, 1850. Andrea Alciati, however, was an only son.

heirs, Francisco Alciati, and the epitaph rather proudly, and yet very truly, records of him this praise: *He completed the whole circle of learning, and was the first to restore the study of the laws to its ancient dignity.* Thus did the epitaph stand:[49]

D.O.M.

ΜΗΔΕΝ ΑΝΑΒΑΛ ΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ	ANDREAE ALCIATO MEDIOL. IVRICON. COM. PROTH. APOST. CAES. QVE SENATORI. QVI OMNIVM DOCTRINARVM	ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΟΥΚ ΑΠΟΛ ΛΥΤΑΙ.
(Never procrastinate)	ORBEM ABSOLVIT. PRIMUS LEGVM STVDIA ANTIQVO, RESTITVIT DECORI. VIXIT ANN LVII MEN. VIII. DIES IIII OBIIT PRIDIE IDVS IANVARII M.D.L. FRANCISCVS ALCIATVS IC. H. B. M. P.P.	*(Of the just man the fruit perishes not)*

A few days after Alciati's death, on the 19th of January 1550, his funeral oration was pronounced in the cathedral of Pavia by Alexander Grimaldi. Like very many of the Italian *Lodi*,[50] or laudations on the death of eminent men, the praise is beyond measure; yet there is a long and highly interesting passage which presents the earliest known outline of Alciati's life, training and attainments, and is the evident source of many incidents in the biographies of Alciati that have been written either in dictionaries or in

[49] See Argelati, vol. i. col. 23.

[50] Of above fifty of these lodi on celebrated Italians, a collection made by Roscoe, the historian, is now in the Chetham library, Manchester. Of course they possess various degrees of merit or demerit, but their prevailing character is that of Grimaldi's *Funeral Oration* on Alciati's death,—too much praise—too little discrimination.

separate memoirs. We shall, however, extract only one or two passages, for though the original is very rare,[51] a photolith copy of the whole, followed by a translation, has just been issued by the Holbein society of Manchester, and thus is rendered easily accessible the information which the oration contains. After narrating the exploits of his boyhood the orator speaks of his further progress: "Poesy, full of enigmas, he so studied, drained and expressed, that within the first threshold of youth he completed emblems, epigrams, elegies, comedies and different other poems; so pleasantly, so fitly and with such elegance they were put together, that nothing could be done more cleverly." To his Greek and Latin scholarship testimony is then borne, and it is added, "even some epigrams exist which are admirably composed, and which I hope will in a short time receive publication."

Those poems and epigrams are still in the recesses of Italian libraries, and may reward the researches of future bibliophilists. Our information respecting them is not precise enough to be set forth in these pages.

Grimaldi afterwards asks: "Who else has interpreted so soundly and elegantly the answers of jurisconsults, the constitutions of princes, the sacred canons of pontiffs? Who of them all, down to these very times, has written so truly and so clearly? To the science of the laws (to which indeed it is the sister) has he not united such great eloquence as none of the ancients possessed, and as none of their descendants have been permitted to hope for or even indeed to desire?"[52]

Before entirely quitting the funeral oration, the Latin

[51] The rich library of Keir in Scotland possesses a copy, and also the library of Pavia in Italy, whose librarian lately sought in vain to find another copy at Venice and elsewhere.

[52] There are several other *Funeral Orations* on the death of Alciati. We may name those of Trivultius and Pallavicini. Also of *Laudatory Orations*, those by Dermazon, 1550; Mignault, 1570; and Prina, 1711.

verses appended to it may be mentioned, extravagant though they are in their exaggerated praise. Of four epitaphs "in mortem Divini Alciati," one assures us, "when the hero Alciati fell, the greatest interpreter of the laws, then the nine Muses perished;" and another, "on the birth of Alciati the laws received their splendour, — when the same Alciati was dead, they too lay slain." An Italian sonnet, with no unusual grief for that day, thus calls for lamentation:

> "Piange Italia mea dunque, e pianga il mondo.
> E piangete voi meco o cari amici.
> Pianga Minerua, e le noue sorelle."

Alciati's famous pupil, Guido Pancirolli,[53] upholds the testimony of Grimaldi: "In the accomplishment of speaking Andrea Alciati of Milan far excelled all who before him had interpreted the civil law. Imbued with the clear eloquence of Latin speech, and moreover with Greek literature, he taught our first jurisconsults to speak in Latin; they have, he said, been prating, not speaking. Lastly, he was so versed in every kind of learning that to have attained to his perfect erudition in the laws appeared a wonderful thing."

Another of his biographers, who was also his fellow citizen of Pavia and of Milan, Jerome Cardan,[54] thus speaks of him: "If, in eloquence he should be compared to ancient times, perhaps he might be conquered; if to our times, certainly he is incomparable; for with a clearer and purer style, he was also fuller and more agreeable. He excelled all then living in eloquence, in knowledge of languages, in

[53] See *De claris Legum Interpretibus*, l. ii. c. 169.

[54] See Cardan's *Andreæ Alciati Vita*; also Blount's *Censura celebrorum Authorum*, p. 414, folio, Londini 1690. Archbishop Parker, in his *Treatise* "De Deo," mentions that Alciati gave to Cardan the title of "*man of inventions*," and that Cardan repaid the compliment by terming Alciati "*the light of his country*." *Retrospective Review*, vol i. p. 109.

acquaintance with history, in subtility of interpretation. If his volumes which are extant do not openly testify this, I should not be free from the suspicion of flattery; but the reality itself is greater than my word. Wherefore I prefer that Horatian expression: *Ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri, i.e.* The very reality refuses to be adorned, — contented to be taught."

Surely it cannot be that all these praises were fulsome flatteries? The man of whom such things were said before those who knew how to measure worth must have been a most learned scholar; a deeply-read lawyer and historian; an admirable and most eloquent pleader and lecturer.

He has been accused of covetousness and greed;[55] but by whom has avarice been more blamed than by himself in his emblems 84–89; and especially when he treats of its punishment in the fable of Tantalus?

"Wretched Tantalus thirsting stands deep in the waves,
Though hungring he tastes not the apples so near;
Change the name; — of himself the miserly raves,
Who dares not enjoy, what he has of good cheer."

And again, luxuriousness and gluttony have been laid to his charge; but if the accusation be true, out of his own epigrams or emblems, 72, 73, 90–95, he receives abundant chastisement:

"With body swollen by food of cranes the fat man here is seen,
Who pelican and sea-gull ravenous bears in either hand;
Of Bacchus such the form, — of Apicius too I ween,
And all who gluttonous, on fame's dark tablet stand."

The chief biographer of Alciati, Claude Mignault, who has often been followed in the foregoing notices, speaks of his attainments and character with some partiality; yet, as

[55] See Bayle's *Dictionary*, and Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, vol. i. pp. 417, 418. 1860.

he writes from full inquiry and a well-informed judgment, we shall not be far wrong, certainly we shall not be maligners, as some were, if we adopt his estimate. Speaking near the end of his memoir, he remarks respecting the celebrated jurisconsult: "He was a man, I dare to say, to whom his country owes more than he to his country. For many years he served, vindicated and thoroughly purified the jurisprudence that had been overgrown by the bramble-thickets of confused opinions. Those who glanced at this man were either the envious or the malicious; those who praise him sparingly were deficient in candour; and those who revered his worth, embracing his highly useful instructions, thenceforward manifested themselves to be grateful and honourable, nor lightly learned."

In the first days of regret for the loss of those eminent for worth or for greatness of any kind, it may not occasion surprise that the orator who speaks their praise should exaggerate the good qualities and the eminent erudition of the departed hero of literature; but when years have flowed by flatteries as well as animosities will soften down, and the language of admiration be chastened by the sentence of truth. Such was the *Address in praise of Alciati* to the young men and the other auditors in the college of the Burgundians, which in 1576, above a quarter of a century since Alciati died, Claude Mignault delivered: "Let us," he said, "carefully note and fondly praise his ancient learning, let us wonder at his knowledge of law, let us emulate his eloquence, let us with the common consent of learned men approve his concise way of speaking, let us venerate his dignified yet pleasing variety: in these we possess a treasure to be matched neither with gold nor with gems, — and by so much the more admirable, if we compare the choice jewels of learning that were his own with the ornaments of many others."

The estimate of Alciati's services both to law and to lite-

rature is also judiciously made in Bayle's *Dictionary*:[56] "The general voice of Europe has always named Andrea Alciati of Milan as the restorer of the Roman law. He taught from the year 1518 to his death in 1550 in the universities of Avignon, Milan, Bourges, Paris and Bologna.[57] Literature became with him the handmaid of law; the historians of Rome, her antiquarians, her orators and poets were called upon to elucidate the obsolete words and obscure allusions of the Pandects, to which the earlier as well as the more valuable and extensive portion of the civil law this method of classical interpretation is chiefly applicable. Alciati was the first who taught the lawyer to write with purity and elegance. Erasmus has applied to him the eulogy of Cicero on Scævola, that he was the most jurisprudent of orators, and the most eloquent of lawyers." "He stood not alone in scattering the flowers of polite literature over the thorny brakes of jurisprudence."

After narrating his distinction as a lawyer Bayle praises his emblems, and declares of them, "they have been much esteemed, and have been thought by three or four learned men worthy to be adorned with their commentaries."

It is very easy to believe that, besides having very numerous admirers, Alciati also had many enviers and detractors; and without attaching credit to every malicious rumour against him, we may admit there were broad blemishes in his character and mode of life, which well deserved the lash of criticism. As we have shown he chastised those critics himself, and therefore does not appear to have been insensible to them. Neither did he suffer reproach without repelling it. Some who maligned him he punished even in his emblems, which are occasionally the epigrams upon his adversaries where he rebukes their pretensions and corrects their impertinence. Such emblems plainly indicate how at times he met the attacks which were made upon him.

[56] Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary*. [57] Add Ferrara and Pavia.

In the Italian universities he had a rival and a competitor, — a certain doctor of the law, of the name of Alexandrinus, who rudely assailed him. Though answering nothing, Alciati, in spite of his dignified silence, was often loaded with abuse. A good man, however, like a generous mastiff, sometimes finds his anger grow the sharper from suppression. It was so with him, and he bore it indignantly that this rival should be named as his successor in the same professorial chair. An emblem, cxli., which first appeared in the Aldine edition of 1546, thus expresses his wrath:

"*Rivalry unmatched.*

"Degenerate kites that with the eagles soar,
And where these fly their falling booty share,
Pursue the mullet, and a feast devour;
With ravenous mouths on food despised they fare:
So Wine-bibber acts with me; mid blear-eyed blind
In student-emptied halls his living he doth find."

The emblem numbered liii. in the regular series, *In adulatores*, Against flatterers, — and illustrated by the Chameleon, occurs as early as the Augsburg edition, 1531. It is so very incisive in its spirit and phraseology as to induce the conjecture that it was originally intended to cut into some special flatterer with whom he was acquainted. Thus is it rendered in a *MS.* version of the beginning of the 17th century:

"Still doth he gape, still doth he ayre drawe,
The beast, which men Chamelion do call,
Chaunging his shape still hath he coullores new,
Excepting crimzon and the lillie white;
On vulgar fame, so doththe fawners gnawe
And gaping still, devowreth quite vp all,
And imitates his prince in things v̄true,
Putting both white and red out of his sighte."

On another occasion, when he was provoked by the intolerable slander of *Franciscus Floridus* against himself and his

friends, Alciati accounted it enough, with the name slightly changed into *Rancidus Olidus, i.e.* Rancid Smell, to brandish this satire as an epigram against his adversary. The Aldine edition of 1546 first gave currency to it, and in the regular series the number is clxiii.

"On Disparagers.

"Dare scourge-bearing coxcombs and like stupid masters
Upon me vomit wrath from impure breasts of their own?
Shall I pay back revilings? then should I not seize
The grasshopper noisy by the one wing alone?
What profit with horsewhips to drive off the flies?
If you cannot destroy them,— do better,— despise."

In fact, good fortune and widely-spread fame are ever exposed to envy, and the truth of this Alciati was continually feeling. Generally he cared as little for the attacks made on his character as Hercules did for the mad biting words of the countryman, — they were but flies buzzing around, troublesome but not dangerous. Now and then, as we have seen, he deigned a reply. Take for example the 164th emblem of the general series, of the Venice edition, 1546, leaf 44; it represents a dog barking at the moon, and has been imitated by Beza in 1581, and by Camerarius in 1593; and by others:[58]

"*A vain attack.*

"By night as a mirror a dog viewed the moon
And beholding himself, thought another dog there;
He barks: the vexed voice winds drove away soon;
Her own course deaf Diana pursues in the air."

We might trace out several other instances in which what

[58] Whitney's old version in 1586 is very good:

"By shininge lighte, of wannishe Cynthias raies,
The dogge behouldes his shaddowe to appeare:
Wherefore, in vaine aloude he barkes and baies,
And alwaies thoughte, an other dogge was there:
But yet the Moone, who did not heare his queste,
Her woonted course did keepe vnto the weste."

was at first written as a pungent epigram, was afterwards ornamented by a drawing, or device, and so passed into an emblem. Another example or two as given by Mignault must in this connexion close our references to emblems of a particular or private application. In all his difficulties our author's chief alleviation was in his profession of the law. He names that pursuit the sacred anchor from which he derived security, honour, riches, and finally highest fame. The fierce war which devastated his native land caused him to travel abroad, and he devoted himself to the science which proved to him the very shield of Myrtilus; when no longer he needed it for defence, he used it as the means of safety.

The emblem, clxi. in the general series, founded on the Greek epigram to the shield of Myrtilus, appeared as Alciati's in the Augsburg edition, 1531, leaf C 2 *v*, and consequently was written during that very troublous time for the Milanese and for Italy, beginning with the candidature of Francis the king of France for the German empire in 1519, and ending with the peace of Cambray in 1529. In that interval the family of Sforza had been restored to Milan, Leo X. had promised Naples to the emperor, the constable de Bourbon in 1524 had been driven into rebellion, and the same year the admiral Bonnivet, who had been sent by Francis to subdue Milan, was defeated, and the chevalier Bayard slain. The year following, 1525, Francis himself had been made prisoner at Pavia,[59] and soon not a French soldier was left in all Italy. The next year, 1526, the Holy League was formed between Francis, England, the Pope, the Swiss, the Venetians, the Florentines and the Milanese, and Italy again became the seat of war; Bourbon's army over-ran the whole of Milan; Rome itself was stormed and sacked, and pope Clement made prisoner. A French army however, under Lautrec, crossed the Alps, and

[59] See Stirling-Maxwell's *Victories of Charles V.*, p. 6, *a*, *b*.

Clement was set free. The death of Lautrec and the revolt of Andrea Doria, in 1528, changed again the state of affairs, and after the French army before Naples had been ruined, the peace of Cambray was concluded in 1529.

Now on passing safely through all these scenes and changes, a man like Alciati might well call to memory some of his ancient lore. He fixed on a Greek epigram,[60] and on the motto, *Auxilium nunquam deficiens;* and of his Latin version the following English stanza has been supplied me:

"*Help never-failing.*

"Stedfast in arms, I found by flood and field,
In twofold peril, safety in my shield:
Unharmed it held me in the battle's roar,
And from the ocean's brought me to the shore."

The simple and close imitation of a Greek original was not unusual with Alciati. He took the thoughts or even the exact expressions of ancient authors, and out of them fashioned what for the time suited his purpose. Mignault's marginal notes not unfrequently contain the reference, "*Fons emblematis,*" Source of the emblem; and it is often to

[60] Thus given in the Paduan edition of the emblems, 1621, 4to, p. 634:

"εἰν ἐνὶ κινδύνους, ἔφυγον δύο μυρτίλος ὅπλῳ,
τὸν μὲν ἀριστεύσας, τὸν δ' ἐπινηξάμενος,
ἀργέστης ὅτ' ἔδυσε νεὼς τρόπιν, ἀσπίδα δ' ἔσχον
σωθεὶς κεκριμένην ὕδατι καὶ πολέμῳ."

Alciati's Latin version follows the Greek with some exactness. The Paduan edition gives three other Latin versions, and others are found in Mignault's *Commentaries,* the general meaning being thus expressed:

1° "Two dangers, I, Myrtilus, did escape,
My single armour trusted not in vain;
Upon the ground I was as overthrown,
And overthrown upon the raging main."

2° "Safe in the battle's strife, I found my shield
Defence that failed not; and upon the waves,
When shipwreck plucks away each other hope,
My shield it bears me to the shore, and saves."

a Greek writer that the emblem in question is traced.[61] Alciati contributed no more than a translation, at times almost literal. Thus from the two-lined Greek stanza,

"*Παλλάδος εἰμὶ φυτόν, βρομίου τί με θλίβετε κλῶνες;*
Αἴρετε τους βότρυας παρθένος οὐ μεθύω."

he takes his 24th emblem,

"*Prudentes vino abstinent.*
"*Quid me vexatis rami? sum Palladis arbor;*
Auferte hinc botros, virgo fugit Bromium."

Lines which Whitney in 1586 rendered more closely:[62]

"Why vexe yee mee yee boughes? since I am Pallas tree:
Remoue awaie your clusters hence, the virgin wine doth flee."

According to Mignault the 124th emblem, "*On momentary felicity*," was founded on a fable by Petri Criniti,[63] and occurring in his *Commentaries*. It was affixed to the door of an Englishman whom prosperity had rendered overbearing and caused to be much disliked. Whitney, p. 34, gives the sense correctly, but, as is not unusual with him in an amplified version, referring both to Criniti and to Reusner:

"*In Momentaneam felicitatem.*

"THE fruictfull gourde, was neighboure to the Pine,
And lowe at firste, abowt her roote did spread,

[61] As in emblems 5, 11, 23, 24, 41, 42, 48, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 64, 68, 73, 89, 103, 105, 106, 111, 121, 125, 144, 151, 159, 160, 161, 178, 180, 184, 193, 194, 195, 196. The *fountain* of the emblems is also pointed out in the Paduan editions of 1621 and 1661.

[62] Also very closely rendered in an unpublished English version of the time of James I.:

"Why doe ye vex me, O ye boughes,
I am Minerva's tree:
Take hence these grapes, for Bromius
faire maides do all waies flee."

The French version 1536, the German 1542, and the Italian 1551, are much less terse; the Spanish 1549, however, is very literal:

"Porque me apreimas vid? Arbor sagrada
De Pallas soy, quita allà tus raçimos
Que aquesta virgen porti se da nada."

[63] *De honesta disciplina*, 4to, Florentiæ 1503. Lib. ii. cap. xii.

But yet, with dewes, and siluer droppes in fine,
It mounted vp, and almoste towch'de the head.
And with her fruicte, and leaues on euery side,
Imbras'de the tree, and did the same deride.
To whome, the Pine with longe Experience wise,
And ofte had seene, suche peacockes loose theire plumes,
Thus aunswere made, thou owght'st not to despise,
My stocke at all, oh foole, thou much presumes.
In coulde, and heate, here longe hath beene my happe,
Yet am I sounde, and full of liuelie sappe.
But, when the froste, and coulde, shall thee assaie,
Thowghe nowe alofte, thow bragge, and freshlie bloome,
Yet, then thie roote, shall rotte where was thy roome:
Thy fruicte, and leaues, that nowe so highe aspire
The passers by, shall treade within the mire."

Alciati's 67th emblem, "*On Pride*," may be compared with the lines of Ausonius on Niobe, which closely follow a Greek epigram, and which Criniti quotes:[64]

"Viuebam: sum facta silex! quæ deinde polita
Praxitelis manibus uiuo iterum Niobe,
Reddidit artificis manus omnia, sed sine sensu:
Hunc ego, cum læsi numine: non habui."

In the same Criniti[65] also are found remarks which may have suggested trees to Alciati as subjects for emblems; it is to this effect, that "among other symbols or signs of the Egyptian theology, he found that the Lethon" (probably a species of laburnum) "and other trees of that kind were celebrated."

The emblem of Milan itself is only used for the first time by Alciati in the Venice edition of 1546,—but the *Insignia of the Duchy*, a child issuing from the jaws of a serpent, is foremost in the Augsburg edition of 1531; and the tomb of John Galeacii, Visconti, the first duke of Milan, is there also commemorated. The insignia of the duchy were ap-

[64] See Criniti *de honesta disciplina*, lib. xi. cap. iv.
[65] *Ibid.*, lib. xx. cap. iv.

plied to Maximilian in the folio edition of Alciati's *Remains* in 1548, and thenceforward obtained the same application.[66]

John Galeacii, it appears, had very bravely withstood the Turks when endeavouring to burst into Italy, and had established his commonwealth on the supremacy of the laws. Imitating a Greek original, our author, in emblem cxxxiii., thus celebrated the praise of Galeacii:

> "Italia be thy tomb, proud chiefs and arms,
> And the sea roaring up the twin born bays,
> Barbarian power that vainly stirred alarms,
> And bands by pay embribed for war's fierce frays,
> Let from the heights the serpent-bearer call,
> Who me the mighty plac'd o'er things so small." [67]

There is yet another of the earlier series of Alciati's emblems, Augsburg 1531, which was written as a satire on a certain learned man, Jerome of Padua, who also busied himself about love affairs. It is directed against all who having the higher glory in view, condescend to waste power upon the lower. The number of the emblem is cviii., thus imi-

[66] The Paduan edition of the emblems, 1621, p. 10, informs us that this Maximilian flourished about 1511, and died childless. He was the son of Ludovici and nephew of Francis Sforza. On one side of the money of Milan, these insignia were stamped; on the other the effigies of Ambrose the archbishop.

Also it narrates that in the Saracen wars under Godfrey of Bologne, there was a Saracen champion who challenged any one in the Christian army to single combat. Otho accepted the challenge, and slew his enemy, and carried off from his crest a golden serpent devouring a child, or rather giving it forth to life. The serpent, a symbol of power, and the child, of a divine origin, were adopted by Otho as the armorial bearings of his house, and as a portent of power, wealth and wide-spread glory. In Count Litta's *Famiglie celebri Italiane*, vol. vii., tavola i. ii., the same crest is on the shield of the Visconti di Milano.

[67] It was to a member of the same renowned family, "Galeacio Vicecomiti," that Alciati dedicated his *Annotationes* on Corn. Tacitus.

For an account of the Galeazzi see P. Giovio's *Vite di diversi huomini illustri*, 4to, Venetia 1561, under *Vite di Principi di Milano*, fol. 24, 42 *v* and 47 *v*. At fol. 50 is a long epitaph on John Galeazzo, and a reference to his sepulchre of marble in the church which he built not far from Pavia.

tated rather than translated by our old friend Whitney p. 135:

"*In studiosum captum Amore.*

"A Reuerend sage, of wisdome most profounde,
Beganne to doate and lay awaye his bookes:
For CVPID then, his tender harte did wounde,
That onlie nowe, he lik'de his ladies lookes:
Oh VENVS staie: since once the price was thine,
Thou ought'st not still at PALLAS thus repine."

The "*Adiges*" of Erasmus were first published in 1500, and a fuller edition by the Aldi at Venice in 1520. An emblem of Alciati, clxviii., certainly written before 1531, and probably one of the Milan collection in 1522, relates to the enmity between the Eagle and the Beetle, and appears to have been suggested by a passage from the *Adagia*,[68] an eloquent comment on the proverb, *Scarabæus aquilam quærit*, The beetle hunts out the eagle. "The scholar while describing the favourite bird of royal blazonry, lashed the order, whose smiles, at other times, he not less skilfully and successfully courted." "Let any physiognomist," says Erasmus, "not altogether incompetent, look well into the face and aspect of the eagle — his greedy and wicked eyes, the threatening hook of his beak, the truculent cheeks, and stern front, and see if he does not recognise that royal type which Cyrus, king of the Persians, loved in a king, magnificent and full of majesty."

Alciati changes the motto of the *Adagia* and substitutes, "A MINIMIS QUOQUE TIMENDUM," *We may tremble even at the smallest things.*

"Wars doth the beetle wage, and from afar
His foe he challenges to meet the war;
And though in might inferior, — by skill
Works out the purpose of malicious will;

[68] Stirling-Maxwell's *Chief Victories of the Emperor Charles V.*, p. xxiv. *b.*

For in the eagle's plumes unknown he hides,
And near the stars in hostile nest abides,
Piercing the eggs doth hope of offspring slay,
And, vengeful for dishonour, wends his way."

The commentators on this emblem make no mention of Erasmus, but refer to Pindar and Aristophanes for their illustrative notes. The Paduan editors, edition 1621, p. 709, declare that the emblem of the beetle and the eagle is taken from the hieroglyphics of Horapollo.

On the great questions of religion and of the office and character of the clergy of their day, there was more of a real accord between Erasmus and Alciati than appears from some of the prose works of the latter writer. That accord on the part of Alciati is seen in some of his emblems of the earlier series. For example, take emblem vii.,[69] "NON TIBI SED RELIGIONI," *Not for thee but for religion.*[70]

Whitney, p. 8, well applies the emblem, but does not well translate it. De la Fontaine's rendering possesses far more spirit.[71]

"*L'Ane portant des Reliques.*

"UN Baudet chargé de Reliques,
S'imagine qu'on l'adoroit.
Dans ce penser il se quarroit,
Recevant comme siens l'Encens & les Cantiques.
Quelqu'un vit l'erreur & lui dit :
Maître Baudet, "ôtez-vous de l'esprit
Une vanité si folle.
Ce n'est pas vous, c'est l'Idole
A qui cét honneur se rend,
Et que la gloire en est deuë.
D'un Magistrat ignorant,
C'est la robe qu'on saluë."

[69] In Steyner's edition, fol. B 7, and Wechel's, p. 39.

[70] In comparing the various versions into French, German, Spanish, Italian and English, this 7th emblem will, at the proper place, be made the medium of the comparison.

[71] *Fables Choisis*, ed. 1699, p. 215.

To the same purport is emblem vi., for the first time printed in the Aldine edition, 1546, fol. 5, with the motto "FICTA RELIGIO," *Feigned or false religion,* and which figures forth a beautiful woman royally seated on a many-headed monster, and offering the poisoned cup to prostrate crowds. "*Sic Babylona notant,*" &c. says the author, "So mark they Babylon, which by her beauty and falsehood takes captive the foolish nations." To the writer's mind however, Babylon was the personification, not of Rome, but of all false religion; unless perchance he had imbibed any of the notions of the abbot Joachim, who foretold the downfall of papal Rome, and whose works were published at Venice in 1516.

On the other hand great is the praise accorded in emblem xv., VIGILENTIA, ET CUSTODIA, *Vigilance and guardianship,* to the watchful and faithful shepherds who truly discharge their trust over the souls of men. The symbols of courage and wakefulness, the lion and the cock, are assigned to them; and these symbols the commentators attribute to the ancient fathers of the church, and even to Horapollo.[72]

For showing too in some degree the tendencies of Alciati's mind against priestly assumption and in favour of religious freedom, his 170th emblem may be named, inscribed "*Vel post mortem formidolosi,*" Terrible even after death. It was not published until 1551, when the author was dead, and celebrates the fame of the renowned Zisca, general of the Hussites in their contests in behalf of liberty of worship. He was a Bohemian knight, of undaunted courage, who from 1420 to 1424, when he died, led the war against his sovereign, the emperor Sigismund. "This famous leader, though deprived of sight, discovered in every step he took, such an admirable mixture of prudence and intrepidity, that his name became a terror to his enemies."[73] There was a tra-

[72] See Leeman's *Horapollinis Hieroglyphica,* ed. 1835, lib. i. c. xix.
[73] See Mosheim's *Eccles. History,* ed. 1823, vol. iii. pp. 146, 147.

dition that on falling sick of the plague, his soldiers asked him where he wished to be buried, and he gave orders that his body should be consumed by ravenous birds and beasts, but that his skin should be used as the tympanum of a drum, so that the enemy even after his death might take to flight at the sound.

Out of Alciati's six lines our Whitney has woven almost as many stanzas, making a paraphrase ever pertinent to the text, but calling to his aid Pliny, Claude Mignault, Æneas Silvius and Cælius Curio; but we content ourselves simply with a reference to them.

The political events of his age furnished Alciati with some occasions for giving to his emblems a direct historical turn. Such emblems however were very sparely written by him, or if written have not been published. The unsuccessful siege by the Turks under Solyman II., the Magnificent as he was styled, is made the subject of a complimentary little ode to the emperor Charles V. The siege was raised on the 16th of October 1529, Charles being in Italy. This date marks the time when emblem xlii. of the complete edition was composed, for it is printed with the same motto, at signature C 8 *v* of the Augsburg edition of 1531. The device is an oak in a storm, and the title "FIRMISSIMA CONVELLI NON POSSE," *The firmest things cannot be torn up.*

The original Latin is very accurately rendered in the old English version of the time of James I.:

> **Although** that father Neptune doth
> hoyste up his waues on highe,
> And though that thou o barbarous Turck
> dost drinke Danubius drye,
> Yet shalt thou neuer with thy force
> rushe past thy setled bound,
> Whiles Charles the fift wth statelie march
> doth rule the Roman ground.

So sacred oakes in depth of earth
vppon firme rootes do stand,
Allthough the windes haue power to blowe
the leaues down to the land." — *MS.*

In Heemskerck's twelve designs for the victories of Charles V., published in 1556, but ready for publication in October 1555, when Charles abdicated the sovereignty of the Netherlands, the *fifth* plate is named "SULTAN SOLYMAN REPULSED FROM VIENNA."[74] The plate is dated 1529, but blends together the raising of the second siege of Vienna by Charles V. in person, in 1532. The Spanish stanza appended to the engraving, like the Latin one by Alciati, emblem xlii., expressly celebrates the prowess of the emperor, and is well entitled to be placed in apposition with the lines of the emblem.

"*Venia Solimano poderoso*
Y auia puesto ya cerco a Viena,
Pero huyó de aqui muy temeroso,
Per la virtud de Carlos el que impera."[75]
i.e. In his power came Sultan Solyman
And Vienna had blockaded round,
But thence in fear his forces ran
And quickly fled the ground,
For Charles commands with valour's sword
And victory waits his word.

[74] See the very splendid folio by sir William Stirling-Maxwell, bart., of Keir, *Chief Victories of the Emperor Charles V.*, pp. 20-22, 1870.

[75] It may be interesting to compare this Spanish stanza with Bernardino Daza's translation of Alciati's emblem; thus

"*Que las cosas muy firmes ne se pueden arranear.*
"Aun qu'el Oceano se embrauez ca tanto
Que d'el furor rebiente conçeuido
Haziēdo cō braueza a'lmūdo espāto,
Y de ti sea Turco el Rhin sorbido
No pasaras de raya el pie, por quanto
Tiempo traxere campo el inuençido
Carlos, que como enzina no se muda
Aunque la foja el viento la sacuda."
En Lyon 1549, p. 79.

So, too, on a later day, in July 1535, when Charles defeated Barbarossa and entered Tunis, Alciati celebrated the event by a second set of lines, on the LAUREL, or *tree of victory*. The lines occur in the Aldine edition of the emblems, 1546, at fol. 19, or in later editions at No. ccx.; and thus briefly though very decidedly renown the African triumph.

"For Carthage conquered Charles should laurel wear;
Such garlands bright let brows victorious bear."[76]

Heemskerck's *seventh* design[77] thus also in a single stanza marks the great victory:

"TVNETAM CÆSAR, BELLI VIRTVTE TRIVMPHANS,
INGREDITVR VICTOR, CEDENS FVGIT ILICET AFER."

i.e. "THROUGH TVNIS GATES A LAVRELLED CONQVEROR
GREAT CÆSAR RIDES, AND FLEES THE VANQVISHED MOOR."

Spanish and French stanzas to the following import are added:[78]

"Now see how fled that African afar
When Charles for triumph came with mighty war,
To Tunis sent in full array of power,
And entered there at victory's favouring hour."

The second emblem of the Augsburg series 1531, entitled FOEDERA ITALORVM, is decidedly of political import. In the Paris series of 1534 and in the Lyons 1551 the title is simply FOEDERA *alliances*, to which, later editions subjoin a dedication: "*Ad Maximilian Mediolani Ducem.*" The

[76] Bernardino Daza, in 1549 or earlier, thus rendered the lines of Alciati into Spanish, ed. 1549, p. 188:

"*El Laurel.*

"Vna corona de Laurel se deue
A Carlos Quinto, que la vittoriosa
Frente gran razon esque tal lalleue."

[77] See Stirling-Maxwell's *Twelve Victories of Charles V.*, p. 27.

[78] "*Aqui vées como huyó aquel Africano,*
Quando Cesar triumphante y poderoso,
Legano a Tunis con su fuerte mano,
Adonde entrò con nombre victorioso."

commentators say that Alciati sent the Latin stanza, emblem x., to Maximilian, son of Ludovic, duke of Milan, to intimate to his prince how great might be the effects of concord among a people. At any rate, the emblem points to the state of Italy in the early part of our author's life, and manifests how earnest were his aspirations that contests and divisions should cease, and that the chiefs of Italy should enter into firm alliances rather than waste power and wealth in intestine commotions. If love of country stood firm there would be the harmony which the lute yields when every string is in tune and contributes its part to the music of all the chords.

There is also a third emblem, the 125th, "Ex damno alterius, alterius utilitas," *One man's loss is another man's gain,* which has a strongly satirical and political meaning. It first appeared in the Venice edition 1546, on folio 8 *v*, and represents a lioness and a wild boar battling for victory, and a vulture perched above them looking on and ready to profit by the quarrel. The moral is "*Gloria victoris, præda futura sua est,*" The glory of the victor is about to be his own desolation. Marnef's 24mo edition of the emblems, Paris 1574, contains a short exposition, and supplies the accepted moral: "Cecy sembla estre dit des Princes Chrestiens faisans la guerre l'vn à l'autrez & du Turc qui cependant regardant le debat, prent la fruict de leur perte." Our English Whitney, p. 129, combines both author and commentator into one set of verses:

"THE Lion fierce, and sauuage bore contende,
The one, his pawe: his tuskes the other tries:
And ere the broile, with bloodie blowes had ende,
A vulture loe, attendes with watchinge eies:
And of their spoile, doth hope to praie his fill,
And ioyes, when they eche others blood doe spill.
When men of mighte, with deadlie rancor swell,
And mortal hate, twixte mightie monarches raignes:

Some gripes doe watche, that like the matter well,
And of their losse, doe raise their priuate gaines;
So SOLIMAN his empire did increase,
When christian kinges exiled love and peace."
WHITNEY 1586.

An early part of the sixteenth century, 1526, had witnessed a strong league against Charles V., formed by the kings of France and England, by the Pope, the Swiss, the Venetians, the Florentines and the Milanese. In 1528 the Turks were threatening Germany. Henceforward, until Don John of Austria, in 1570, gained the battle of Lepanto, they were in one way or the other a terror to Europe. In 1541 Barbarossa ravaged the coasts of Italy, and the Turks made rapid progress in Hungary; and in 1543 Francis himself was assisted by a Turkish fleet. Indeed the persuasion was general that the Turk was destined to subdue all Europe, and even Charles V. shared in the fear. "In Luther's famous prayer" according to Stirling-Maxwell,[79] "against the Devil, the Pope and the Turk, the latter seems to have held the place of honour as the most terrible of the three." "At Busetto, in 1543, in one of his conferences with Paul III., the emperor said to that pontiff, 'I know that it is God's will that we are all to become Turks, but I will be the last.'"

How apposite then Alciati's fable of the lioness, the boar and the vulture to the state of Europe, and to the dangers with which Christendom was threatened.

If political economy had existed as a science three centuries and a half ago, we might have supposed that some glimmerings of its principles emanated from Alciati's *Book of Emblems*, Augsburg series, D 2 *v.* Though derived from elder times, the motto of the 147th emblem points to a fiscal satire:

[79] *Victories of Charles V.*, p. 22 *b.*

"QUOD NON CAPIT CHRISTUS, RAPIT FISCUS."
What Christ leaves untouched, the exchequer has clutched.

Very quaint, if not pithy, is the rendering by Whitney, p. 151:

"WHERE couetousnes the scepter doth supporte,
There, greedie gripes the kinge dothe ofte extoll:
Because, he knowes they, doe but make a sporte,
His subiectes poore, to shaue, to pill, and poll?
And when he sees, that they are fatte and full?
He cuttes them of, that he maye haue theire wolle?
Vnto a sponge, theise are resembled righte:
Which drie at firste, when it with water swelles,
The hande that late did wette it, being lighte;
The same againe, the moisture quite expelles.
And to the flood, from whence it latelie came,
It runnes againe, with wringinge of the same."

On Aristotle's theory,[80] that men whose spleen is small wax fat, but that with the increase of the spleen the members of the body wane away, the 146th emblem adopts for motto, "Opulentia tyranni, paupertas subiectorum," *The wealth of a tyrant the poverty of his subjects;* it really advocates the principle that every increase of taxation is so much taken from the reproductive power of the people. This emblem, it may be remarked, did not come "in lucem" until after the death of the author:

"As in man's body acts the spleen, so in the state
Did Cæsar say, had his exchequer been;
Increase the spleen, the body's limbs abate,
Increase the tax, the commonwealth grows thin."

In two or three instances noble representations are presented of the princely character and rule, showing that the people's good should be the chief aim, and that mercy is the highest of attributes. As the anchor for sailors, so is a good king safety for his people; and as the master bee,

[80] See Mignault's *Commentary* to emblem 146.

though twice the size of the other bees, bears no sting, so the ruler over nations should be merciful, and entrust sacred laws to righteous judges. The first of these emblems, the 143rd, appears with the motto:

"PRINCEPS SVBDITORVM *incolumitatem procurans.*"
THE PRINCE securing the safety of his PEOPLE.

"As Titan brothers often rouse the seas,
The anchor cast doth wretched sailors aid,
The dolphins kind to men the anchor seize
And in deep bays in safety they have laid.
Kings, signs of power to bear, it doth behove,
And safety's anchor to their people prove."

The second instance, emblem cxlviii., appears under the sign of a hive of bees, or, as the author by a misuse of the word names them, of wasps. It has for motto:

"Principis clementia;" *Clemency in the prince.*

But Whitney's version is so paraphrastic and diffuse,[81] that with referring simply to the meaning given above, the original must here be made use of:

"VESPARVM *quòd nulla vnquam Rex spicula figet,*
Quodq; aliis duplo corpore maior erit;
Arguet imperium clemens, moderataq; regna,
Sanctaq; indicibus credita cura bonis."

Other works of a poetical character besides the emblems were composed by Alciati, but remain unpublished, even if they still exist in the great libraries of Milan, Bologna, Ferrara and Pavia. Laudatory stanzas of his are to be found here and there,[82] and Grimaldi's *Funeral Oration* makes mention of "comedies and divers other poems, which

[81] Daza's Spanish version extends to fourteen lines, and Amalteo's Italian to six; Marquale's version however is too terse, and insufficient:

"*Mai non ferisce de le vespi altrui*
Il saggio Re, cosi deu' esser guisto
E clemente il signor ne i popol sui."

[82] As in Reusner's *Icones, siue imagines*, &c. Bâle 1589.

he had finished within the first threshold of his youth;" and they are described as being "so festively, so fitly put together, and with such elegance, that nothing could be done more cleverly." From his way of speaking Grimaldi evidently had seen them, and the Ambrosian library at Milan at least, at the present day, possesses manuscripts by Andrea Alciati; they repose within *scrinia*, on shelves and repositories, and have been only very partially explored in recent times.[83]

From one of the Alciati manuscripts in the author's own hand-writing, so clear, so free, so indicative of the power of his mind, we present an extract in *fac-simile*, through the courtesy of signor P. Antonio Ceriani, keeper of the Ambrosian library in Milan. It is the conclusion of one of his orations, bearing the title "PRAELECTIO Andreae Alciati, in Bononiensi Schola M.D.XL.," and shows very favourably the professor's method with his students, and the pleasant footing existing between him and them. "It behoves you," he says in conclusion, "to be of brave mind, and least of all to distrust your own powers. I will go before; and unbroken in spirit I will lead you through every labyrinth: only be there present your diligence and ardor of learning; and towards your teacher affection and confidence."

For the convenience of comparing with the hand-writing the printed text, we subjoin the whole from Alciati's *Works*, Bâle 1582, vol. iv. col. 1060:

"Sunt enim vltimæ voluntatis cùm in frequenti hominum vsu, tum & plerũq; ambiguæ, & quæ magnam aduocatis pecuniam parent. Traditum à Græcis est, Stratoclem Atheniensem Rhetorem quosdamq; alios eius collegas sese mutùo solitos ad messem auream inuitare, sic forum & curiam ioco appellantes. Quo exem-

[83] For a brief account of them see *Gli Scrittori d'Italia*, by Mazzuchelli, vol. i. pp. 370, 371: this work enumerates twenty of his manuscripts, and among them are, "*Nubes antiqua Fabula Aristophanis, latinis versibus reddita;*" and "*Epigrammatum.* Lib. v." See also Argelati's *Biblioth. Script. Mediol.*, vol. i. coll. 24-26.

ANDREAS ALCIATVS MEDIOLANENSIS

Cuius recens memoria, et quo tempore maxime Florverit omnibus est in promptu.

Sũt .n. ultima uolũtates, cũ in futuri hõũ usu fũ et plæraq; ambigua et quæ magnã aduocatis pecuniã pariũt. Traditũ a gracis est Stratoclẽ Athenis ẽsẽ rhetorẽ quosdãq; alios eius collegas sese mutuo solitos ad missẽ aureã inuitare sic forũ et curiã ioco appellatos. Quo exẽplo et Ego uos hoc anno ad mossẽ hãc aureiq; uellus uocabo, q̃ sciã quãm utilitatis hac ẽx materia quotidie ꝓcipiat' Qua aũt difficultate subtilitaq; tractatũ sit à Iurisconsultis hoc argumẽtũ õnibus patet tot tituli tot respõsa et cõgestis omnia magna scrupulositate redditaq;, tot leges et cõpositiones scabrosæ et inuolutæ difficiles quorũ rõnẽ nõ nisi longa meditatione acriq; studio possit assequi, tot denique interpretũ cõmentaria, tot cõsultũ respõsa quæ et si magnã lucẽ posteris attulerint, magnũ et laborẽ in eis ꝓscrutãdis reqruũt Verũ uos fortis ãio esse oportet et minime uiribus uestris diffidere ꝓcedo ego et ꝓ anfractus atq; labyrinthos õẽs uos tutissime deducã, adsit modo diligẽtia ũra et discendi ardor atq; erga præceptore Charitas et fiducia. Dixi

plo & ego vos hoc anno ad messem hanc, aureumq; vellus vocabo, qui sciam, quantum vtilitatis hac ex materia quotidie percipiatur. Qua autem subtilitate tractatum sit à iureconsultis hoc argumentum, ostendunt tot tituli, tot responsa, & ea quidem omnia magna scrupulositate reddita, tot leges, & compositione scabrosa & intellectu difficiles: quarùm rationem non nisi longa meditatione acriq; studio possis assequi: tot deniq; Interpretum commentaria, tot consulentium responsa: quæ et si magnam lucē posteris attulerunt, magnum etiam laborem in eis perscrutandis requirunt. Verum vos forti animo esse oportet, & minimè viribus vestris diffidere. Præibo ergo: & peranfractus atq; labyrinthos omnes vos tutissimè deducam: adsit modò diligentia vestra, & discendi ardor, atq; erga præceptatorem charitas, & fiducia. Dixi."

The influence of Alciati on the emblem writers and critics of Italy and of Europe generally was certainly great. As he disentangled law and jurisprudence from mystery and jargon, and gave expression to their principles in the language of articulate-speaking men,—so he lifted emblems out of their grotesqueness and frequent absurdities, and formed them on the classical models to which his own mind had been trained. He may have become too epigrammatic, but he has thoroughly avoided the old rambling looseness of style, and has invested many a single line with a meaning that among his predecessors would have required a whole sentence or it may be a paragraph to develope. True it is that he has not utterly avoided the coarse and the indelicate; but the manners of even polished Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were less fastidious and less refined than those which have, with so much advantage, been established in modern society. The deviations into coarseness were not the habits of his mind; and honour, fidelity, virtue, received his warmest approval.

The celebrated Italian writers upon devices and emblems, or, as they termed them, *Imprese*, though contemporaries

of Alciati, did not issue their works until after his death, when many of his emblems had long been popular; and it is therefore only just to attribute some of their excellencies to the models which he had supplied for study.

Paolo Giovio, bishop of Nocera, first published at Rome in 1555, his "worthy tract," as Daniell named it,[84] "DIALOGO dell' imprese militari et Amorosi," in which he so well discusses many of the insignia and devices of celebrated men. This work re-appeared the next year, 1556, at Venice, in two forms by two different printers, Giordano Ziletti and Gabriel Giolito: the first, "CON VN DISCORSO *di Girolamo Ruscelli, intorno alle stesso soggetto:*" and the other, "CON VN RAGIONAMENTO *di Messer Lodovico Domenichi, nel medesimo soggetto.*" Gabriel Symeoni's "*Imprese heroiche et morale,*" Lyons 1559,—and his "*Sententiose Imprese,*" Lyons 1562, are of a similar excellence to the foregoing. The whole four became popular, and exercised great influence throughout Europe, increasing a taste for symbolical and emblematical device;[85] and they are still the best and most interesting introductions to the subjects of which they treat.

Andrea Alciati had resided, lectured and taught in the universities of Bologna, Ferrara and Pavia, and his emblems and emblem-tastes would there become known. At Bologna in 1546 the Italian scholar, Achille Bocchi, had founded the academy of that city; and in 1672, under the patronage of the cardinal Francisco Barberino, had been printed Zani's *Memoirs, Emblems and Pictures of the Academicians* from 1590 to 1672. Achille Bocchi also issued in that city in 1555 a very elegant 4to, containing 150 emblems,[86] of which the devices are from copperplates of great

[84] See "The worthy tract of Paulus Iouius, contayning a Discourse of rare inuentions, both Militarie and Amourous *called Imprese*, &c. By *Samuell Daniell late Student* in Oxenforde." At London 1585.

[85] See Pear's *Correspondence of Sidney and Languet*, p. 9.

[86] "SYMBOLICARVM QVESTIONVM, LIBRI QVINQVE," pp. 340, Bononiæ 1555.

excellence, the work of Guilio Bonasone. Within the sixteenth century the presses of Bologna sent forth other emblem-books, as Palazza's *Discorsi Imprese*, &c., 8vo, 1577; and Caburacci's *Trattato dove si dimostra il vero e novo modo di fare le Imprese*, 4to, 1580.

Nor did Ferrara and Pavia remain unimpregnated with the emblem-spirit. In the former city Rinaldi's volume of emblems, a small 8vo, appeared in 1588; and in the latter, Lucas Contile's *Ragionamento — sopra la proprieta delle Imprese*, &c., folio, 1574; and Cimolotti's *Il superbi*, 4to, 1587. During the same period, 1550–1600, many other cities of Italy could name writers and composers of emblem-books of no mean renown. Venice led the way, and might boast of at least seven authors.[87] Rome yielded Gabriel Faerno, 1564, whose work is rich for its classic fables and beautiful plates, said to have been designed by Titian; the *Icones* of Hortinus in 1585; Fabrici, 1588, a wearisome volume indeed, but containing a great body of artistic work; and *Emblemata Sacra* by S. S. Cælius in 1589. From Milan we name only Porro's emblems, *Il primo libro*, 1589; and from Brescia in 1568, *Rime de gli Academici occulti.* With honour to herself Naples may close the list. There in 1562 Scipione Ammirato published his excellent work on emblems, — *Il Rota overo dell' Imprese:* the historian and secretary, Guilio Cesare Capaccio, was the author of *Delle Imprese trattato in tre parti diviso*, 4to, 1592, which contains 303 emblematical devices executed with taste: and of the world-renowned Torquato Tasso a volume ranked among emblem-books, — *Discorso del Poeme*, printed at Naples in 1594. In 1599 also at Naples was published *La pompa* for Philip II. of Spain, by Ottavio Caputi.

[87] They are Dolce in 1552, 1572 and 1575; P. Mori in 1566; Guazzo in 1585; Camilli in 1586; Pezzi in 1589; Bargagli in 1589; and Porri in 1597. I have read, though I cannot recall the authority, that a work printed at Venice in 1620, Capaccio's *Principe*, contains a treatise on the emblems of Alciati.

The real state of Italy[88] as to the growing taste for emblems and the free use of them, during the greater part of the sixteenth century, has been graphically delineated by Joseph B. Yates[89] in speaking of the numerous academies of Italy, and of some of their customs:

"Among the earliest was the society of *Intronati* or Blockheads, established at Sienna, whose device was an empty pumpkin, surmounted by a couple of pestles, and bearing the motto of 'Meliora latent.' An allusion is here made to the Tuscan method of storing salt, namely, ramming it, by means of pestles, into scooped and dried pumpkins. But as these when well filled with salt, become very valuable, so may an empty head (Intronate) proverbially called in Italy a pumpkin, become stored with useful knowledge by dint of education and assiduity. Nearly at the same period flourished several academies bearing equally quaint titles. Bologna, besides its institute and university, boasted its *Inquieti* and *Oziozi* — Brescia, its *Occulti* — Florence, its *Umidi* — Perugia, its *Insensati* — Rome, its *Umoristi* — Pavia, its *Cavallieri del Sole*, its *Affidati* and its *Chiave d'Oro* (key of gold), of which last Alciato was a distinguished member. Each had its device and motto. Nor was this all. It became the practice for every individual member to take to himself a distinctive device and motto, and even an academic name. On reference for example to the *Ragionamento*, published by Luca Contile in the year 1574, we find a full description of the device, motto and assumed name of all the 115 academicians who then composed the society of *Affidati* at Pavia. Among these, the good archbishop of Milan, San Carlo Borromeo, had for his device the *galaxia* or milky way, for his motto 'Monstrat iter,' and for his academical name *Infiammato*. Others were

[88] A great fondness for symbol and emblem also characterised the "SPELEN VAN SINNE," or allegorical representations of the cities and villages of the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. "The Rhetorical Chambers," as they were named, existed in the most obscure villages, each having "its peculiar title or blazon, as the lily, the marigold, or the violet, with an appropriate motto." See Motley's *Dutch Republic*, pp. 79, 80.

[89] See his paper read before the Literary and Philosophical society of Liverpool 18th October 1848, "*A sketch of that branch of Literature called* BOOKS OF EMBLEMS, *as it flourished during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*," pp. 18, 19.

denominated *Il quieto*, *Il patiente*, *L'Inviato*, *L'Offuscato*, *Il pronto*, &c.; and a very handsome engraving, with a long and learned dissertation, is devoted to each. This author gives an outline of one of the above-mentioned academies of Pavia, 'the Cavallieri del Sole.' The members met every Monday and Thursday. They appoint for the ensuing two months a president or *conservatore*. They keep in constant pay a riding-master, a fencing-master, and professors skilled in every sort of vocal and instrumental music. They engage to cultivate all Christian virtues, attend mass every morning, and receive the holy sacrament. Whenever any person of distinction arrives or passes through Pavia all the academicians go forth to meet him, and join him at such a distance from the city as may be proportionate to the rank he bears. All quarrels, controversies, and complaints, are sedulously adjusted by the society. Six times in the year they repair to the church of St. Epiphany, where solemn music is performed in their presence. By these means (adds our author) all controversies are at an end; sedition is unknown; idleness, the source of all crime, is banished; revenge never enters the thoughts; the thirst after sordid gain is moderated; and every breast is inspired with a zeal to live usefully and honourably."

To have withheld such a picture of life in the cities and universities of Italy, would have been to keep back some of the influences by which our author was surrounded, and the knowledge of the kind of companions with whom he associated. The *Chevaliers of the Sun* in Pavia have been set before us; and we should remember that he belonged to a similar fraternity in the same city.[90] In this fact have we not an assurance that the darker representations of his character arose rather from envy than from just and true testimony? Sociably and pleasantly he took his place among his compeers, and acquired a high renown. Hence the

[90] Quadrio, in his work *Della Storia e della Ragione d'ogni Poesia*, Bologna and Milano 1739-1752, vol. i. p. 89, tells us the motto on the key was "Clauditur et aperitur liberis," *It shuts and opens for its children*, — an invention of Marchesino di Pescara. Every member wore the key round his neck. "De quest' Accademia fu pure il magno Andrea Alciato."

respect and the honours paid to him in Pavia, where he lived and where he died.

Out of Italy also, during the half century which followed Alciati's death, there prevailed a marked cultivation of the emblem-literature. More notably was the interest manifested in France ; next in the Netherlands ; also in England, Germany and Spain. In this century, of our author's own emblems in the Latin text there were at least ninety editions,[91] and in French, Italian, Spanish and German, not less than forty editions. Thus within eighty years from their first collection at Milan in 1522, *one hundred and thirty* editions testify to the popularity of the emblems of Alciati.

During the same period, the writers of original emblems, several of them copyists of Alciati, were also numerous. Of those who used the Latin tongue to set forth their mottoes and devices there were above forty separate authors ; the Italian about twenty-five ; the French above twenty ; the English ten ; the German eight ; the Spanish five ; and the Dutch or Flemish three.

The seventeenth century witnessed a large increase both of writers and of editions, which, for our argument that Alciati's example and influence continued to be in action, are not required to be specially recapitulated. Let it suffice to be simply stated that of emblem-writers since the birth of Andrea Alciati in 1492, there have been nearly *one thousand four hundred*, for whose existence satisfactory evidence can be adduced ; and that though of the greater part of them only one edition was issued, yet the libraries of Europe possess at least *three thousand*, and it may be *four thousand*, distinct editions.

From these large numbers, should even a considerable

[91] Namely at Milan one, Ferrara one, Venice two, Augsburg and Frankfort each five, Leyden six, Bâle seven, Antwerp fifteen, Paris twenty-one, and Lyons twenty-nine.

majority be deducted, it could not be doubted that the great jurisconsult of Milan left upon his own age and on the generations which followed, the marks of those lighter labours of his, which he has playfully likened to the sport of boys in a contest for nuts, or to the employment of women occupied by their embroidery.

Fully to speak of him belongs rather to the lawyer than to the emblematist. His renown for eloquence and for intimate acquaintance with the principles and application of the maxims of jurisprudence, so great as it was in his own day and for a century afterwards, is now seldom mentioned; and when he is himself referred to, it is chiefly as the poet who imparted a more classic form and spirit to what was deemed the literature of amusement. It is his emblems, the numerous editions of which we are about to catalogue, that now build up his fame, and therefore to them we have directed and are directing the greater part of our remarks.

Very warm testimony to their excellence has been borne by one who for study and scholarship was fully qualified to speak with authority. It is found in the hand-writing of Francis Douce in a copy of the Paduan edition of the emblems, 1621, which he used for some years, and which is now treasured in the Bodleian library, Oxford. "This book," he remarks, "was the delight of my youthful days;[92] nor has my veneration for it ever diminished. I have picked up every edition of it that has fallen in my way."

Compared with several of the earlier works which are included in the emblem-literature, Alciati's style is much purer and far more epigrammatic, as if he studied rather to

[92] How similar to the expressions of sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, in the *Retrospective Review*, vol. ix. p. 124, when speaking of Whitney's emblems, so often founded on those of Alciati! "We have known those whose boyish days have been made more agreeable by the emblems of Whitney, who could recollect the different prints, their situation, the details, the whole, to their then delighted minds, beautiful pictures, which adorn that most ancient preceptor in emblematic art."

compress than to amplify. Not one of his translators has hitherto equalled him in these respects. We cannot indeed justify the extravagant eulogium of Tozzius,[93] and say, "the almost divine emblems of a most excellent poet;" yet with Gyraldus[94] we may allow, that "Alciati can be placed in the college and company of poets, because there are many of his verses, as epigrams and emblems, printed in divers cities. And concerning him can truly be said what is found in Cicero concerning Scævola, that 'of those expert in law he is most eloquent, and of orators the most expert in the law.' I will add that he is both a very learned and a good poet. But our commendation Alciati needs not, for by his writings he is already accounted illustrious and famous throughout the whole world."

There are indeed several defects in our author's verses; the exact prosody of the Latin tongue is sometimes violated; and the mere poetry of measures does not tolerate such faults. These consist in allowing pentameters frequently to run off into polysyllables, and so to lose no little grace.[95] Francis Vavasseur, *On the Burlesque*, had with great learning and research maintained that the Greeks and Romans were ignorant if not incapable of the really burlesque style; and in another work, *On the Epigram*, had allowed considerable liberty for sake of the wit and the point which epigrams, and consequently emblems, should contain. His adversary, a Jesuit father like himself, Renatus Rapin, declared the epigram to be the most insipid of all poetry unless it were admirable, and that a good epigram is so rare that to make one is sufficient for the whole of a

[93] *Emblemata, D. A. Alciati*, 4to, Patavii, p. v.

[94] *De Poetis nostrorum temporum*, as quoted in the Paris edition of the emblems, 1602.

[95] See Tiraboschi's *Storia della Lit. Ital.*, vol. vii. p. 1066, and Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 366, who refers to Olaus Borritius *De Poetis Latinis*, vol. iii. num. 85, and Baillet's *Jugemens des savans*: also to Francis Vavasseur *De Ludierâ Dictione*, 1658, and *De Epigrammate*, 1669.

man's life. Judged by so high and withal by so true a standard, it is not surprising that Alciati's "trifles for the festive hour" wander here and there from the strict rule, and, though excellent in conception and even in expression, are not always perfect in their poetic measures.

Moreover, our author does not pass unaccused of not thoroughly understanding several Latin words which he uses. Barthol. Riccius, whose works were published in Venice in 1541, and in Ferrara in 1562, addressed in 1556 admonitions to his son Camillus respecting certain Latin words of Alciati, "ab eo malè perceptas."

Of the great number of editions of Alciati's emblems, which, as we have observed, followed the years 1548–1551, when his *Carmina Symbolica*, as we may name them, were completed and firmly established in general favour, there were four chief sources. Elsewhere[96] we have entitled these sources, and not inappropriately, *The four fountains of the Alciati emblems*, and on their being collected into one series, *The Alciati emblems in their full stream.* The full stream never exceeded 211, except when the Paduan editions of 1621 and 1661 made the number 212, by restoring from the Venice edition of 1546 one emblem which had been suppressed; and when, about 1680, by also restoring this emblem, and dividing two others, Aurelio Amalteo enumerated in his manuscript Italian version 214.

The TRANSLATIONS of the emblems of Alciati are into French, German, Spanish and Italian. It is not certain whether England ever down to 1871 possessed an English version; and the Dutch, though no mean amateurs, and indeed proficients in emblem-art, do not name the great master's book one which their children can read, as they do the

[96] In the second volume of the Holbein society's publications for the year 1870, and in the first for 1871, namely: 1° "**Andreae Alciati's Emblematum Fontes Quatuor**;" and 2° "**Andreae Alciati Emblematum Flumen abundans.**" Both volumes sm. 4to, Trübner & Co., London.

works of father Catz. Of the authors of the translations, and of the translations themselves, notices will be taken in the catalogue in the proper places. We may here observe that the French, by whom Alciati was so much admired in his chair of jurisprudence at Avignon and at Bourges, took the precedence in the work of rendering the emblems into their native tongue; next followed the Germans; to them succeeded the Spaniards; afterwards came the Italians; and last of all the English.

The French translators were Le Fevre in 1536; Aneau in 1549, to whom is assigned the credit of arranging the emblems according to their subjects; and Mignault, or Minos, the commentator, in 1583. Of German translations the earliest was in 1542 by Wolphgang Hunger, a Bavarian; and a second was issued by Jeremias Held von Nördingen in 1566. A claim has been made for a Spanish translation as early as 1540[97] by Bernardino Daza, but on insufficient grounds; with more reason the date 1542 may be assigned, but of a certainty 1549.[98] The Italians furnish three translators, — Giovanni Marquale in 1549;[99] Paolo Emilio Cadamosto in 1626; and Aurelio Amalteo about 1680. An English translation of a portion of the emblems is in manuscript of the beginning of the seventeenth century; and a new English translation is now awaiting publication by the Holbein society of Manchester.

Of these various translations it is impossible to judge except by placing them together for comparison. For this purpose let an example be selected common to them all; it

[97] See Antonio's *Biblioth. Hispana nova*, vol. i. p. 168.

[98] Daza's translation is said to have been placed "on the Index Expurgatorius of Spain," and remained there as late as the year 1790. This may account for the absence of reprints of "Los emblemas de Alciato," and the prevalence of the Latin text with Spanish notes by Don Diego Lopez in 1615.

[99] Audifredi's *Catalog. bib. casanatensis*, vol. i. p. 91, records that at Venice in 1620 J. C. Capaccio, in "Il Principe," rendered Alciati's emblems into Italian.

is numbered emblem vii. in the regularly arranged editions: we take Steyner's text, 1531, B vii.

LATIN TEXT.

"NON TIBI SED RELIGIONI.

"*Isidis effigiem tardus gestabat asellus,*
Pando uerenda dorso habens mysteria.
Obuius ergo deam quisquis reuerenter adorat,
Piasq; genibus concipit flexis preces.
Ast asinus tantum præstari credit honorem,
Sibi, & intumescit admodum superbient.
Donec cum flagris compescens dixit agaso,
Non es deus tu aselle, sed deum vehes."

AUGUSTÆ VIND 1531, B vii.

FRENCH.[100]

"Non a toy | mais a religion.

"Laſne portoit dung ſainct ſa chaſſe:
Et voyant chaſcun proſterner |
Cuyde que ce pour luy ſe face:
Si penſe ia tout gouuerner.
Mais ſur ce on le vint baſtonner |
En luy diſant motz de telle ſorte:
Sus haudet | il fault pietonner:
Tu nes pas ſainct | mais tu le porte."

Jehã le feure, fol. F 1536.

"*Non à toy l'honneur: mais à la Religion.*"

NARRATION.

"Vng paresseux Asne portoit l'Image
De la Deesse Isis: auquel hommage
Tous rencontréz faisoient, en suppliant
Reuerемment: & les genoilz ployant.

[100] See also on the same subject at p. 39, De la Fontaine's *Fables Choisis*, ed. 1699; liv. v. p. 215, *L'Ane portant des Reliques.*

A luy l'honneur l'Asne estre faict pensoit.
Et en orgueil iusqu'a tant se dressoit
Que l'Asnier dist (touchant à verges fortes)
Tu nes pas Dieu (asne) mais tu le portes."

ANEAU 1549.

"Non tibi, sed religioni."

EMBLEM VII.

"L'HONNEUR A TOY n'appartient mais à ton estat."

"Une Asne portant la Statue
D'Isis, que le peuple honnoroit,
Et tout chacun se prosternoit
De qui elle fut appercue.

Luy pensant que cest honneur grand
Fut fait pour luy presque il s'arreste,
Fait du mauvais fait de la beste,
Il s'enfle et orgueilleux se rend.

Donq' son conducteur le manasse,
Et le vous foettant sur le lieu,
Baudet, dit il, tu n'es pas Dieu,
Quoy que tu en porte la chasse."

CL. MIGNAULT ed. 1587.

"Cecy est tiré des fables de Gabrias."

GERMAN.

"*Nit dier, sonder der geystlicheyt.*"

EMBLEM XXXV.

"*Ein Esel trueg eins haylgen bild,*
Vor dem sich nayget yederman,
Des ward der Esel stoltz vnd wild,
Maint im selbs wurd die ehr gethan,
O schelm, ich solt dich leren gan,
Sein maister sagt, vnd schlagen vol:
Nit dich, den haylgen bett man an,
Ein vnglert pfaff verstet es wol."

WOLPHGANG HUNGER 1542, p. 87.

"Nicht Dir ſonder Gott zu ehren.

"Der Eſel das gar langſam thier,
Auff ſeinem rucken trug her für,
Das bildnuß vnd die heiligen gut
Der Göttin Iſidis, ſo ſtet
Ein jeder der für über reiſt,
Der Göttin groſſe ehr beweiſt;
Mit nider fallen auff die Erd,
Und bettet an die Göttin werd.
Der Eſel meint in ſeinem ſinn
Silch ehre würd erzeiget im,
Ward deß halben mit Hochmut graß,
Erhaber und ſtoltz über dmaß,
Biſz daß er ward geſchlagen von
Dem Eſel-treiber, der ſprach non;
Du biſt kein Gott du törichts Thier,
Sonder du tregſt ein Gott auf dir."

HELD VON NÖRDINGEN 1566.

SPANISH.

"*No à vos sino à la religion.*"

p. 57.

"Como vn asnillo que à la Ceres santta
Con tardo paso en procision lleuaua
Viesse por toda parte gente tanta
Que à cada paso en par d'el se humillaua,
En tal soberuia entre si se leuanta
Que asise diò el honor q̃ à ella se daua,
Hasta que el palo y voz dixeron junto
No soys uos Dios, mas lleuays su trasunto."

BERNARDINO DAZA 1549.

ITALIAN.

"*Non a te, ma alla Religione.*"

p. 9.

"*Mentre rozzo Asinel la imagin santa*
D'Isi di qua di la lento portaua;

Vedendo ou unque gia, la turba tanta,
Ch'adorando la Dea le s'inchinaua,
Fra se stesso di cio si gloria e vanta
Recando a se l'honor, ch'a lei si daua:
Quando a colpi di busse la sua guida;
Tu Dio non sei, mala Dea porti grida."

GIOUANNI MARQUALE 1551.

"Non a te, ma alla Religione."

EMBLEM VII.

" D'Iside il simulacro, vn dì, portaua
L'Asinel tardo, soura'l curuo dorso
Venerandi misteri, e sacri hauendo
Postosi incontro ognun, la Dea, deusto,
E reuerente, adora; e, chino a terra,
Pietose, preci concepisce, e forma.
Ma l'Asin, ch'a se fatti que gli honori
Sol credea, gonfio, forte insuperbiua
Quando lui, con le sferze, rintuzzando
E battendol, gli disse l'Asinaio;
Asinel, Dio non sei, ma porti Dio."

P. E. CADAMOSTO. 1626.

"Non à te, à la Religione."

EMBLEM CL.

" DA un Asinello essendo gia portata
Sù l'incuruato dorso à passi lenti
L'imagine d'un Dio, da molte genti
Quest'era riuerita, et adorata.
L'asino insuperbi, che si credea
Quei tanti assequi al Nume tributati
A se stesso dal popolo esser dati;
E fermo caminar piu non uolea,
Mà uedendol sì gonfio, e si restio,
Con molte battiture allhor l'afflisse
L'asinaro adirato; e poi le disse,
Asino, non sei Dio, mà porti un Deo."

MS. of AURELIO AMALTEO, *about* 1680.

ENGLISH.

"*Non tibi, sed Religioni.*"

p. 8.

"THE pastors good, that doe gladd tidinges preache,
The godlie sorte, with reuerence do imbrace:
Though they be men, yet since Godds worde they teache,
Wee honor them, and giue them higheste place,
Imbassadors of princes of the earthe,
Haue royall seates, thoughe base they are by birthe.

Yet, if throughe pride they doe them selues forgett,
And make accompte that honor, to be theires:
And do not marke with in whose plàce they sett,
Let them behowlde the asse, that ISIS beares,
Whoe thowghte the men to honor him, did kneele,
And staied therfore, till he the staffe did feele.

For, as he pass'd with ISIS throughe the streete,
And bare on backe, his holie rites about,
Th'Ægyptians downe fell prostrate at his feete,
Whereat, the Asse, grewe arrogante and stowte,
Then saide the guide: oh foole not vnto thee,
Theise people bowe, but vnto that they see?"

WHITNEY 1586.

"Non tibi, sed religioni."

VII. p. 4.

"A ſlow pas'd ass did Isis image beare
having hir shrine vpon his crooked backe:
And those to whom the goddesse did appeare,
did reverence hir, on knees by falling flatt;
The Asse suppos'd, this honor don to him
did then begin to puffe and swell with pride
Till that the Carter whipping him gan sing,
Thou art no god, but god doth on thee ride."

MS. about A.D. 1600-1610.

For the bibliographical study of the emblems this method of supplying a comparison of the different transla-

tions will be found not simply useful but necessary; for the ARRANGEMENT of the completed emblems very much less of remark will suffice. The first decided change in this respect was made in 1547–1578, soon after the issue at Venice in 1546 of the large *addenda*. Hitherto the emblems had been placed without regard to the connexion or proper succession of the subjects. Barptholomæus Anulus, as our authority names him,[1] who gave a new version of them into French, also arranged them according to their subjects, "in locos communes, et tanquam in certas classes." He proceeded from the highest to the lowest, namely, "à Deo optimo maximo ad arbores." Alciati himself approved of this arrangement, and communications concerning it, and also concerning the origin and authorship of some additional emblems, passed between him and Anulus. "Respecting these things," remarks Prateius, "Anulus at that time consulted the author, while yet alive, who a little after yielded to the fates, about in fame to live an eternal age."

The arrangement thus made was only in a slight degree altered afterwards, in 1551, by admitting to the precedence the three dedicatory emblems, namely those which comprise the symbolical devices of the duke of Milan, of the city of Milan, and of the family of the Alciati. Thenceforward the order thus established was observed, and in the full editions the emblems were distinguished by the numerals I.–CCXI., in a few instances I.–CCXII.

A far more difficult and more important question demands consideration; who were the ARTISTS by whom the various devices were drawn and executed that were used to ornament certain series of the editions? Our information is by no means so extensive or so reliable as we could wish.

[1] Pandolphus Prateius, a jurisconsult of Augsburg, writing from Lyons in July 1559, to the candid reader of Alciati's works, (*Opera omnia*, 4 vols. fol., Basiliæ 1582, vol. iv. col. 1496,) narrates what has been said.

Of his editions, 1531–1534, Steyner says, that "elegant pictures" had been added to the work; but surely they are elegant only to him who, having been accustomed to etch with a pick-axe on a hard gravel-road, then for the first time employed a chisel on a block of wood? Wechel of Paris in 1534 intimates that he shunned neither labour nor expence "in fashioning the devices;" and certainly he has succeeded better than Steyner. The Venice editor in 1546 in the name of the Aldi-brothers declares that, among other things, "the figures will yield delight;" yet of a truth they are not equal to what the artistic skill of that age could produce. Excepting on the colophon of Steyner's April edition of 1531, neither the names nor the initials of the designers and wood-cutters are attached to any of the blocks.

The rude, unfinished nature of the early devices renders it not improbable that with his epigrammatic stanzas Alciati himself had supplied roughly-drawn designs of his own, and that these were the guides which the engravers followed in the three series of editions of Augsburg, Paris and Venice. Ours is a conjecture; it aims to pass for no more than it is worth; but we should remember how natural it is for a writer of the wit which is intended to be pictured to become artist as well as poet,—the conception is his, if not the drawing in outline.

The evidence of the monogram in the second of the Augsburg editions, April 1531, proves that Henry Steyner himself, or Hans Schäufelein, a scholar of Albert Dürer, executed the woodcuts. Accordingly one or the other of them has been named as the artist[2].

For the Paris series by Wechel, 1534–1544, there has been named as the artist, Jollat, a French engraver, who flourished about 1510, and who in 1532 executed the neat cuts for an anatomical work by Carolus Stephano, M.D. The

[2] See Graesse's *Tresor de Livres rares et precieux*, vol. i. p. 62.

two additional devices given by Wechel in 1542 bear traces of the workmanship of another hand, and Jollat, who had executed the woodcuts of a missal in 1492, may not have been surviving beyond 1540. True it is that in an edition of Le Fevre's French version, 24mo, Paris 1562, in which there are 108 emblems, but only 36 devices, the woodcuts have been attributed to Jollat; but these woodcuts must have been obtained from Wechel's old stock used when he put forth for the first time Le Fevre's translation.

The Aldine edition of 1546 remains without any identification of the artist who designed its devices.

In 1544 Jacobus Modernus of Lyons issued a small 8vo with 107 devices, and repeated it in 1545 with 113. The woodcuts are roughly executed copies from those which Wechel employed; they are not however from the same blocks.

A series of emblem-volumes of Alciati, in at least ten editions, were issued by Tornæsius and Gazeius, or by De Tournes alone, between the years 1547 and 1570. Several of them are in Latin, and three in French containing 198 emblems, but only 113 devices, which accompany the first book but not the second. The woodcuts are generally assigned to the skill of Le Petit Bernard, *i.e.* Solomon Bernard, born at Lyons in 1512, and supposed to be still living in 1598. The booksellers gave him much employment, and he performed his work with spirit and neatness. A copy of De Tournes' Latin edition, 1547, which is in the fine collection of the Bodleian library, offers the following note in Douce's handwriting: "The cuts are perhaps by Le Petit Bernard, or by Cousin," (born near Sens in 1530.) "They bear the strongest likeness to the editions printed by Marnef, — Cousin's designs, but a different engraver from that in Marnef's edition." [3]

[3] Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, vol. i. p. 149, says of them: "Elles sont assez dans la manière du Petit Bernard auquel on les a attribuées." Also of an edition in 1566, R. Weigel's *Catalog.*, Leipzig 1844, No. 13373, remarks: "Mit vielen Holzschnitten vielleicht vom B. Salomon, oder dem petit Bernard."

The longest and most important series of designs and woodcuts for the Alciati emblems, and from the same school of art if not from the same artists, extends from the year 1540 to 1616, and numbers thirty-six editions, if not more. They are in Latin, French, Spanish and Italian. Of the whole number *twenty-seven* (1540–1616) bear the name of Roville, or of his heirs; and *nine* (1548–1551) the name of Macé or Mathias Bonhomme. Lyons was in every case the place of publication, though some have very strongly doubted[4] whether any edition of this series made its appearance before 1548. The peculiarity of this series of editions is, that, in the great majority of instances, every page, whether title, dedication or emblem, is surrounded by a broad and handsome border, within which are placed the motto, device and stanza.

The monogram P. V. stands clearly on forty-five of the borders that have been used in these editions, and militates against the supposition that the woodcuts were due to Le Petit Bernard.[5] Nevertheless, as the blocks of the devices are independent of the blocks of the borders, though worked within them, the former may still have been wrought by Solomon Bernard.

The initials P. V. have been explained to refer to a celebrated designer of Rome, employed by Rafaelle on the execution of the Loggie of the Vatican,— Pierino del Vaga. His other name was Buonacorsi.[6] He died in 1547; but,

[4] See Graesse's *Tresor*, which says: "L'edition de 1540, citée par Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp.* N. (vol. i. p. 168) paraît être apocryphe;" but on the other side see the Blandford *Catalogue* with the reference, "Los emblemas de Alciato en Lyon, 8vo, 1542," rendering it not unlikely but that there was also an edition *two* years earlier. See also Mazzuchelli, vol. i. p. 368; and R. Weigel's *Catalog.*, 1587, No. 21178, which inserts both the title and the place of imprint thus: "Lyon par G. Rovillio, 1540." Of course these early editions could only have contained the 113 emblems which Wechel had printed.

[5] As when Brunet's *Manuel* remarks: "Les figures en bois qui décorent cette edition sont marquées du monogramme P. V.; c'est donc à tort qu'on les a attribuées au Petit Bernard."

[6] See Nagler's *Neues allgemeines Künstler Lexicon*, vol. ii. p. 198.

inasmuch as the Lyons edition of the Alciati emblems in 1548 would require much previous preparation, de Vaga may have wrought the plates with his initials found on thirty-two of the pages. Or, as he is said to have set up a workshop in Rome,[7] from which proceeded only "the mechanical," his successors there may have supplied the designs and attached his mark. The portraying of borders may properly be classed with "the mechanical."

Another and more likely claimant for the P. V. initials,—were it not that he usually adopted a curious monogram made-up of P. V. V. D. and B,—is Pierre Woreriot or Voeiriot, born at Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine in 1532. A book of his engraving was printed at Lyons in 1556, where he chiefly resided, as a goldsmith, engraver and wood-cutter, and left behind him some hundreds of specimens of his skill. An artist so fecund as he was would commence in early youth; and the borders are said to have been intended for goldsmiths, embroiderers, and similar *artistes de luxe:* yet, as he would only be 16 years of age in 1548, it is not easy to suppose that he executed the P. V. borders of that date.[8]

The remarks of so thoroughly an inquisitive and sound a critic as Francis Douce must receive the closest attention. They are attached in his own writing in the form of notes to editions of the Alciati emblems collected by him, and now to be found in the Bodleian library. These remarks seem almost to decide the question. In his copy of the Lyons edition of the French version, 1549, he wrote:

"This is the first edition of Aneau's translation." "There are 93 emblems added by Alciat, but there are not cuts to all of them." "V.[ide] Papillon sur la gravure en bois tom. i. p. 545. See Goujet Biblioth. Franc., tom. vii. p. 82. He thinks the cuts were

[7] See Kugler's *Geschichte der Malerei*, vol. i. p. 648.

[8] For a most interesting account of Pierre Voeiriot consult R. Dumesnil's *Peintre Graveur François*, vol. vii.

done by le Petit Bernard. This is certainly an erroneous opinion.[9] On some of the borders the initials P. V. appear."

"Some of the cuts are in the manner of Peter Gencheus, who is known to have been employed by Rouille about ten years after this work was printed."

"Other cuts with P. V. are in the 'Heures à l'usage de Rome,' p.[rinted] by Macé Bonhomme at Lyons 1558, 8vo, and I suspect, on comparing these cuts with P. V. with those by A. Vingles in Yèïar's writing book, that the artist was named Vingles, and perhaps the brother of Jean de Vingles." D.

"I have since discovered," he adds, "there was a Peter de Vingles, a printer at Neufchatel. The de Vingles had been printers at Lyons from the year 1495, and it is probable that some of the family were engravers. We know that John de V. cut the blocks in Yèïar's fine writing book."[10]

With the emblem-book editions printed at Lyons 1548–1551 there appeared a higher style of design as well as a very elaborate ornamentation; each page, as we have observed, received a broad border of fanciful scrolls and figures, often manifesting both skill and invention. But though Roville writes "*τῶν εἰκόνων* picturam" &c. about the no worthless picturing of images to feed the eyes; and though for himself and Bonhomme the printer, he names "a great quantity of figures which they have anew invented, arranged and appropriated to the said emblems," the editions themselves, if we except the plates monographed P.V., supply no proof from sign, mark or name, as to the cunning workmen who invested each of them in a frame-work of art. The style however of the borders is so similar throughout that we may consider them all to claim P. V. as their

[9] See pp. 67–68 of the work for the proof.

[10] The Yèïars of Douce is printed Yciar in Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. v. col. 1506, who says of the *Arte subtilissima*, 4to, Çaragoça, 1550, "elle est remplie de gravures sur bois, et le texte, imprimè en caractères mobiles, est entouré de bordures par J. de Yciar and J. Vingles." Earlier editions, 1547 and 1548, are named as made by Yciar "*Cæsar-Augustæ*," *i.e.* Saragossa, when Yciar was in the 25th year of his age.

designer, whom the eminent Douce concludes to have been Pierre Vingles of Lyons.

One special object contemplated by the richly-bordered editions of Lyons is explicitly stated in the address "to the Reader" prefixed to the 1548 edition; "that from a little book of emblems as from a well-prepared promptuary, any one might possess what he could inscribe or paint on the walls of his house, on windows of glass, on curtains, hangings, tablets, vases, signs, images, on raiment, the table, couch, arms, sword, and household furniture." In the French version the same utilities are rehearsed. And at a later time, 1566, Held von Nördingen's German translation enumerates among the recommendations of his work, that it would be found serviceable "to painters, goldsmiths, silk-embroiderers, sculptors or statuaries." The old emblematist had contented himself with simple devices, guiltless of ornament, and speaking chiefly to the mind; the engravers and booksellers made them the vehicle of instruction in drawing and design; they extemporised a school of art, and deemed a small book no inadequate an instructor.[11]

The woodcuts within the borders of the Lyons series, as well as of some others, are evidently from independent blocks. The drawings representative or symbolical of the subjects treated are, too, of different character and workmanship from the borders. "Ninety-three additional emblems having been supplied by the author, and a new set of wood engravings by Solomon (le petit) Bernard, a beautiful edition was issued A.D. 1548,"— so in his *Sketch of Emblems*, pt. i. p. 22, Joseph B. Yates declares; and with respect to the devices there is a strong probability that this account is true; for Bernard was born at Lyons in 1512, and was living in 1598. "He executed," Bryan testifies,[12] "a number

[11] Gravelot and Cochin's four neat little volumes published at Bordeaux and Paris at the end of the last century, ICONOLOGIE, aimed at the same object.

[12] *Dictionary of Engraving*, &c., p. 73. London 1848.

of wooden cuts for the booksellers, which are well designed and cut with great spirit and neatness." Besides his residence was Lyons, and he was working there down to 1580.

The borders by Pierre Vingles,—the devices by Solomon Bernard; this is the conclusion to which we come respecting that important series of emblems of Alciati which were issued by Roville and Bonhomme.

When, after the year 1546, we examine the DESIGNS for illustrating many of the Alciati emblems, it is evident that they originated under the influence and guidance of a higher skill and inspiration than those which the artists of Augsburg, Paris, or Venice possessed. From Roville's *Alciati Emblemata*, Lyons 1548, take the *Ganymedes*, p. 7; the *Bellerophon* and the *Chimæra*, p. 17; the *Pallas*, p. 25; the *Abstinentia*, p. 46; the *Actæon*, p. 51; the *Phaeton*, p. 55; the *Prometheus*, p. 81; *Love* and the *Power of love*, pp. 84, 85; the *Dames at dice*, p. 105; the *Madness of Ajax*, p. 139; the *Cavalier* and the *Maiden*, p. 153; and *Æneas bearing Anchises from Troy*, p. 157;—and then say whether there are not signs and evidences, not it may be of direct copying, but that the artists in wood were not unfamiliar with the methods in which some of their great predecessors and contemporaries had set forth the same subjects on canvass?

It may not be possible to point them out with precision and certainty; and for identification it would be necessary to go, the Alciati emblems in hand, from gallery to gallery where are treasured the great works of painters who were contemporaries of our author, and some of them his friends. But from such researches as have been instituted we are made aware, that not a few of the subjects of the Alciati emblems had been treated of by the famous painters and designers of his own age, whose renown and works would be known to himself. He was a frequent traveller, at least in Italy and France, often changing his residence, and thus

enjoying great opportunities. His knowledge therefore of what contemporary artists had done would influence him in the choice of so many classical themes, or have enabled him to direct the artist of Lyons to the methods by which he would have them figured.

Under this impression, until more accurate information was obtained very recently, July 1871, from signor P. Antonio Ceriani, of the Ambrosian library, Milan, it had been conjectured that the portraits which Leonardo da Vinci painted of Lodovico Sforza and his mistresses, Cecilia Galleroni and Lucretia Crivelli, and also of Lodovico and his consort, Beatrice d'Este, might, as far as the countenances, have been repeated in Alciati's emblem cxc., *In fidem uxoriam*, On womanly fidelity; or in emblem xix., *Lascivia;* or in emblem cxliv., *In senatum boni Principis.* This conjecture does not agree with the portraits themselves and must be given up, except so far as those portraits may have been the reason of the very marked improvement in the device of emblem cxc., edition 1551, when compared with the first rough sketch in edition 1531, or with the increased skill in edition 1534. Alciati had noted how da Vinci delineated the human features, and excited his artist in Lyons, after a similar style, to symbolize the womanly and manly figures.[13]

In 1516 Leonardo visited the court of one of Alciati's early patrons, Francis I. of France, and died at St. Cloud in 1519. While in residence there he painted several pictures, and among them, through some one or other of his scholars, "a sitting Bâcchus in a landscape" (originally a S. John).[14]

[13] Nevertheless the term "uxorius" in the form of uxoriam, employed in emblem cxc., is expressly applied to Ludovico by Paulus Jovius in his *Histories*, ed. Basil 1578, p. 8, l. 39. His wife Beatrice, daughter of Hercules d'Este, was renowned for her splendour and luxury, and for her ambition to take an active part in affairs of state: the historian says, "vt Ludouicus, qui iam tam blanditijs eius delinitus, vxorius habebatur, importunę mulieris libidini nonnunquam obtemperare cogeretur: præsertim, quod ei filium, cui postea Maximiliani nomen fuit, paulo ante pepererat."

[14] See Kugler's *Handbuch*, vol. i. p. 512.

Now emblem xxv., "in Statuam Bacchi," was in Alciati's Milan collection in 1522; in the Augsburg edition, 1531, represented by a sitting Bacchus, holding a cup and having a vine before him; in the Paris edition of 1534, by a Bacchus seated beneath a spreading vine, and holding a drum on his knee; and in the Lyons editions, 1548–1551, also a sitting Bacchus blowing a pipe and beating a drum, and having the vine and the bowl in due position. Surely in this case Alciati had directed his artist to follow Leonardo da Vinci's design.

Michael Angelo, Buonarotto, born in Tuscany in 1474,[15] nearly twenty years before Alciati, but dying after him in 1563, had treated of Prometheus bound to Caucasus, of Ganymede and of Phaeton's fall; and in them he had been followed by Nicolo Beatrice, born in Lorraine in 1500. To Bartel Behem of Nuremberg,[16] A.D. 1496, can be traced Apollo and Daphne; to James Bink of Cologne, 1504, the Triumph of Bacchus, and the seven virtues, Faith, Hope, Charity, Justice, Patience, Fortitude and Temperance,—most of which Alciati celebrates; to Giulio Bonasoni, born at Bologna when Alciati was a child in the Milanese, Niobe and her children, and also the fall of Phaeton; and to Giovanni Giacomo Caroglio of Verona, 1502, the punishment of Tantalus; and from Michael Angelo the carrying up of Ganymede. There may be assigned to Giulio Romano of Rome, 1492, the year of our author's birth, Diana going to the chase, and some similar compositions; and Hercules between Virtue and Vice, which subject also engaged the burin or graver of Robetta of Florence, 1460–1540. Tiziano Vecellio, 1477–1576,[17] among similar subjects represented the story of Actæon, of Diana and her Nymphs in the bath, and of Bacchus and Ariadne; Lucas van Leyden,

[15] See Kugler's *Handbuch*, vol. i. pp. 525–541.
[16] The dates are those of birth, or near it.
[17] See Kugler's *Handbuch*, vol. ii. pp. 37–50.

1494–1533, the Seven Cardinal Virtues in seven prints, 1530, which at an earlier date, not later than 1517, John Walther van Assen of Amsterdam, also portrayed, accompanied by the Vices,[18] *Superbia, Luxuria, Invidia, Ira, Gula,* and *Avaricia;* all of which appear in the Alciati emblems, but not in the Milan collection of 1522, nor before the Venice edition of 1546. And finally, Marc Antonio Raimondi of Bologna, born 1487, engraved Æneas bearing Anchises from Troy, — a similar subject in a later day to engage the skill of Agostino Caracci, also of Bologna, 1558–1601.

There are thus set before us various sources nearly all flowing from Italy, and from the contemporaries of Alciati, from which *Le Petit Bernard,* or any other artists to whom the author gave instructions as to the designs for his emblems, might have taken hints or even examples, when they were employed about the year 1547 to prepare an entirely new set of devices. These devices, and imprinted from the very same blocks, appear to have been regularly in use in all the Rovillian editions, until the worn and battered wood was retouched, "Lvgdvni, Apvd Hæredes Gvlielmi Rovillii M.DC.XIII." for "editio vltima,"—a last edition.

It would be travelling too much beyond the limits of our author's life to pursue the question of the various artists who were engaged on the woodcuts of those numerous editions of the emblems which are of later date than 1551. Some account of them and of the different series of editions, and of the commentaries upon them, will, at p. 79 of our work, precede the general catalogue itself.

Reserving then the details, we may remark, that amidst considerable diversity there is much similarity in the artistic designs for nearly all the series of editions after the time of Bonhomme. The type of style imparted by Le Petit Bernard, or by that other engraver who could claim to be the

[18] These are drawn in architectural compartments, and may have given origin to the architectural borders in the Lyons editions 1548–1564.

veritable P. V., asserted itself for generations to come; and whether blocks were cut for De Tournes of Lyons and Cologne, for Marnef, Richer, Valletus, &c. of Paris; for editions in Frankfort, for Plantin and Rapheleng in Antwerp and Leyden, or even for Tozzius in the classical Patavium, the designers and engravers took their guidance from the Rovillian and Bonhommian methods; not that these were followed as mere copies are, line for line, but they were held in deep respect, and something of likeness to them could alone satisfy the public demand. As in the pictures of the saints, by whomsoever drawn, S. John must be attended by his eagle, and S. Mark by his lion. By natural selection from improved forms the Alciati emblem-art had advanced beyond the extreme savagery of the Augsburg tracings, the neatness of the Wechel devices, and the retrograde illustrations of Venice; but when that art developed itself at Lyons, its traditions became fixed models, and a strong family likeness was propagated in all the varieties of woodcuts for his emblems that had followed the author's death. In 1550 he had been saluted "DIVINUS" by the poets who bewailed him; but the reverence lasted longer than the echoes of his funeral orations, and distant cities and times were taught to celebrate his fame by almost a ritualistic identity of devices.

Some remarks by Mr. J. B. Yates[19] on emblem-books and emblem-writers supply, in clear and forcible language, a general view of the subject as Alciati left it:

"The close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries were signalized by stirring events. The invention of Printing and Engraving, the discovery of a New World, and the Reformation in the Church, evoked talent which had heretofore been overlaid by feudal and monastic institutions. In the application of that talent science was found to be of slow developement;

[19] See his *Sketch of that branch of Literature called Books of Emblems*, p. 10.

government, political economy, municipal and international law, required to be tested by successive generations of men. But the plain broad maxims of morality remain the same in every age; the fire of poetic genius bursts forth without waiting for the slow advance of civilization and refinement; while the graphic arts at once present to the eye the most forcible illustration of those precepts which philosophy and poetry may have bodied forth. Here then were the elements for the species of literature now to be brought under review, — a literature which was much cultivated, and in fact occupied a prominent place amongst the various productions of the learned and ingenious who flourished at that period. Such was the origin of collections or as they are commonly called *Books of Emblems.* Their object was to present to the eye a series of elegant and interesting pictures on a small scale, such as were proper to be affixed to furniture, vases, &c., or to inform and beguile a leisure hour. Each emblem was accompanied by a short poetical Illustration, generally in Latin, (the universal language of European scholars) and the whole was frequently headed by a lemma, or title.

"From the peculiarly perishable nature of such works, very few manuscript books of Emblems appear to be at present in existence;[20] although it is certain that such were produced, not merely by eminent artists and scholars, but also by amateurs, who thus contrived to occupy vacant hours and minister rational delight to their friends.[21] It is not certain however that the appellation of *Emblems* was always attached to such MS. works. Indeed it would appear from the preface (ad Lectorem) to the Lyons edition, 1548, of *Alciato's Emblems*, that this eminent man was the first lastingly to confer that distinctive title upon this class of literary production."

Opinions, however, are not unanimous respecting the merit of Alciati's emblems. Scaliger's judgment, already quoted,

[20] There are, however, in the great libraries and in private collections, manuscripts not a few in which the illustrative devices are in part or entirely emblematical.

[21] "In the Crevenna library," says Mr. Yates, "was a MS. upon vellum of the fifteenth century entitled, '*Emblemes Satiriques et moraux, avec leurs explications en vers François*,' 4to, 83 leaves. The recto of each leaf was occupied by a beautiful miniature, and the other side by the explanation in eight verses."—*Vide* Crevenna Catalogue, No. 5389.

and that of others are very favourable, and a *Funeral Oration* for Alciati by Bossius, quoted by Baillet[22] maintains:

"If the Muses had wished to sing with any other mouth than their own, they would, according to all probability, have borrowed that of Alciati, so charming, and so sustained by learning are his Greek and Latin verses."

"It is to his *Emblems*," remarks Baillet, "that he is indebted for the rank which is given to him among Poets, and we may say that this rank is not one of the last, although it may be rare to be at the same time a great Jurisconsult and a Great Poet."[23]

Greatness, indeed, in poetry cannot be assigned to him. The elegance and the resources of the scholar are his, but not the sustained invention and inspiration of the Poet. Witty, epigrammatic, pleasing us; such appears the estimate to be formed respecting the emblems of Andrea Alciati.

Very recently his fame has been celebrated emblematically, in a Symbol-stanza, with the device of a *Smith hammering glowing iron at the forge:*

"An Emblem on Andrea Alciati.

"The dancing sparks around the anvil's coil
Charm us like fire-flies in their rise and fall;
So Alciat's Emblems 'mid the Forum's broil
Flashed forth their wit and fascinated all;
The forgeman's brilliants fade along the floor,
But Alciat's stars shine on for evermore."

Shine on! but only upon eyes with a vision fitted for them. Who now heeds those emblematical epigrams, those symbolical drawings and devices, those versions into civilized speech, those little notes the veriest *Billets-doux* of literature, or those gigantic commentaries which drain the entire ocean of Greek and Latin parallelisms, and yet so enlarge old

[22] See Baillet's *Jugemens des Sçavans*, ed. Paris 1722–1730, in 8 vols. 4to. Tom. iv. p. 380.

[23] Baillet's final judgment is certainly too severe: "It is better to cease speaking, than to continue rendering a Poet ridiculous who has not merited it, and who ought not to receive serious praises."

Nestor's cup as to enable it to contain them all? Who gives heed? who sees the stars and is fascinated? Perchance a solitary student to whom the pages and the once widespread fame of Andrea Alciati are not without interest, and who has found in them relief during hours that would otherwise have been wearisome; but who above all has been rewarded by the sympathy and encouragement of two or three scholars of generous nature, who have honoured him with their approval, and he would fain hope with their friendship.

These researches into an older and almost extinct literature may be like investigations into a fossil world, — in appearance, a poking into dry dust and petrified bone; but time was, when dust and bone were covered with a wondrous integument of flesh and nerves and sinews, and animated by a living soul. The soul and intellect of man, in all their forms are worthy of our study, and from the emblem we may rise to the figured reality, and in the reality perceive an ennobling truth and a higher guidance.

"*Lento al consiglio, al fatto diligente.*"

THE

EMBLEM-BOOKS OF ANDREA ALCIATI:

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE EDITIONS AND THEIR WOOD-CUTS, AND OF THE NOTES AND COMMENTARIES.

ES Emblemes ou entregectz de Seigneur André Alciat Gentilhõme Mylannoys," *The Emblems or castings of thought of Signor Andrea Alciati, gentleman of Milan*, had, as we have seen in the Memoir of his Life, been widely scattered abroad in Europe previously even to his death; and of most of the early editions, as those by Steyner of Augsburg, Wechel of Paris, and Roville and Bonhomme of Lyons, we have already spoken. These, however, comprise but a small portion, and a Bibliography of them demands that notice be taken of the various other classes into which the 185 editions may be arranged.

In imitation of Wechel's editions are those in small 8vo by Jacobus Modernus of Lyons, in 1544 and 1545. Jollat's designs are very closely followed, but the cuts from them are by a different workman, furnishing no mark or monogram by which to ascertain who he was.

Several editions of the Latin text in two books were

issued from Lyons by Tornæsius and Gazeius, beginning in 1547; and of the French version of Le Fevre in 1548, &c., those bearing the name of Jean de Tournes. The designs for the woodcuts are generally attributed to the Little Bernard. So testify Brunet and R. Weigel; but Francis Douce, in his copy in the Bodleian library, A 350, has written, "the cuts are perhaps by Le petit Bernard or Cousin.[24] They bear the strongest likeness to those in the editions printed by Marnef,"—"Cousin's designs, but a different engraver from that in Marnef's edition." On collating the Wolfenbüttel copy of De Tournes' edition of 1548, the librarian remarks, June 25th 1871: "Les planches sont sans bordures et manquent de monogrammes ou marques de graveur."

This last observation, however, is not absolutely true of the edition of 1556 by Tornæsius and Gazeius, which contains Stockhamer's notes and a new set of woodcuts. A single one, the cut to emblem lxxxiii., p. 111, bears the monogram H.B., which was used by Hans Bol, born at Mechlin in 1534. He travelled through Germany and resided awhile at Heidelburg, but 1556 is almost too early for him to be found at Lyons. Of this edition the other woodcuts were by the Little Bernard, the second book being *nude* or without devices.

De Tournes' edition of Le Fevre's French version 1570, has woodcuts of the same character: "Figures dans le style du Petit Bernard;" "Pas de monogrammes ou marque de graveur," observes the librarian of the Duc d'Aumale, June 27th 1870. So the same plates continued to be used by De Tournes down to 1614 and 1615. According to M. W. Vitcher's letter, September 13th 1870, who, as librarian at Bâle, collated those editions: "Les planches du premier

[24] Jean Cousin, the founder of the French school of painting, was born in 1530, at Soucy, near Sens. "The French," says Kugler, vol. ii. p. 333, "have named him their Michael Angelo."

livre se trouvent dejà dans l'edition, à Lyon, par Jean de Tournes, 1555, à l'exception des No. 26, 90, 102. Les vers françois ont subi quelques changements comparés avec l'edition de 1555."

The very fine impressions of devices to the number of 211, in the folio edition of Alciati's works, Lyons 1560, and Bâle 1582, are from woodcuts of the very same origin as those in the Lyons editions of 1551, by Roville and Bonhomme. In all the imprints of the Alciati emblems, there are none superior to these for carefulness in the execution. In the other folio editions of our author's works, the emblems, if given at all, are devoid of any devices.

Between the years 1561 and 1583 several editions were issued in Paris, some by Jerome de Marnef alone, and some by him in partnership with William Cavellat. What is observed by M. Manceau, the bibliothécaire of Mans, June 27th 1870, respecting the edition of 1573 seems to apply to all the rest: "Sans monogrammes ou marques de graveur." In a similar Paris edition of 1562 by Jean Ruelle, some of the woodcuts are attributed to Jollat whom Wechel employed in 1534, and are found in Plantin's 24mo editions of 1567 and 1573, and in Marnef's 24mo edition of 1574; but in this last instance the devices are only very like, not identical. Douce's MS. note in his copy of De Marnef and Cavellat's edition, Paris 1583, sums up what is to be known of the subject:

"The cuts to this edition are said by Papillon, but perhaps incorrectly, to have been done after the designs of, or even performed by Cousin. They very closely resemble those in the editions printed by Jean de Tournes; and the artists, employed both by Marnef and De Tournes to ornament many of their Books, appear in many instances to have imitated each other so closely as to deceive any one who does not examine their workmanship with the greatest attention. In pp. 20 and 129," (*i.e.* of this 1583 edition) "there is the mark ‡ with which I am wholly unacquainted,

not choosing to rely on the opinion of Papillon who ascribed it to Woeiriot."[25]

At Frankfort-on-Mayne, beginning with 1566 and ending with 1597, there appeared *two* Latin and German editions, 1566 and 1580, each numbering 217 emblems (probably a misprint), and only 130 devices; and *three* Latin editions, 1567, 1583 and 1597, with 211 emblems and 128 devices. The German translation by Held von Nördingen was printed for Sigismund Feyerabend in 1566, and has attached to it a set of woodcuts from original blocks. The name of Jost Ammon of Zurich, 1539–1591, has been assigned to the artist who executed them, and there is reason to believe in the conjecture, for from 1564 to 1588 he was engaged on Frankfort editions of various works, and enjoyed the patronage of the generous-minded Feyerabend. The devices of this edition were repeated in the same city by Corvinus 1567, and by Basse 1580 and 1583; but Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. i. col. 148, declares that "Les planches en bois de Virgil Solis" decorate these editions; and his testimony is confirmed in Graesse's *Tresor*, where the Frankfort editions of 1566 and 1580 are named with the note, "Les figures en bois sont de la main de Virg. Solis." In his copy of edition 1583, A 398, Douce has written: "The cuts to this edition were probably by Virgil Solis of Nuremberg, and were not, as far as I can find, used for any other." In this respect Douce was not sufficiently informed; the woodcuts of edition 1583 were from the blocks made use of in the editions 1566 and 1567.

The *Annales Plantiniennes*, 1865, by C. Ruelens and A. De Bucker, assign the year 1562 as the time when Christopher Plantin of Antwerp commenced with "*Les devises de*

[25] This last name, to be found in Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters* under the heading of Woreriot, has been mentioned in our work at p. 68. The Dictionary positively affirms: "His woodcuts are marked with a double cross, called the cross of Lorraine ‡;" but then the authority is Papillon's.

Claude Paradin," the long series of books of emblems, for which down to 1648, or even to 1692 and 1715, the Plantinian press was celebrated under himself, his son-in-law Francis Rapheleng, and his grandsons and other members of the family of Moreti.[26] Plantin's earliest edition of the two books of the Alciati emblems had Stockhamer's notes, and only 113 devices to 198 emblems; it came forth in 24mo in 1565, and was repeated in 1566; and in 1567 the devices were increased to 131. These devices were simple little woodcuts, probably of the same origin with many in Ruelle's Paris 24mo edition of 1562.[27]

The descriptions of the Emblems and Commentaries on them by Claude Mignault, are now to form a very important element in Alciati's symbolical epigrams. Though often given to the public by Plantin of Antwerp, as in 1573, 1574, 1581, &c., they were first issued in Paris in a 4to volume, printed in 1571 by Dion à Prato. Graesse's *Tresor*[28] names it, "La meilleur edition des Emblemes d'Alciat." What however, in our present connexion, is most important to notice, arises from the fact that some of the woodcuts bear upon them the much contested letter A, to be mentioned soon more at length when we treat of the artists who engraved for the Plantinian editions. Of this 1571 imprint it has been said: "Le graveur est connu par le monogramme A (Adam van Oort)." If this be a well-founded assertion,[29] it leads to the inquiry, whether the

[26] Who are still owners of the original printing office and library founded in Antwerp by Plantin, and of the vine which he planted three centuries ago.

[27] All that R. Weigel's *Kunst-catalog.*, No. 21165, says of them is: "verschieden von den Holzschnitten in 8, in den andern Plantinischen Ausgeben," *They are different from the woodcuts in 8vo in the other Plantinian editions.*

[28] *Tresor de Livres rare et precieux*, vol. i. p. 62.

[29] Scarcely well-founded, for Adam van Oort, the son of Lambrecht, was not born until 1557; and though born, as has been said, "with a decided genius for the art," the age of 14 years, 1557–1571, is too early, without more positive proof, to have the woodcuts in the edition of 1571 assigned to him.

woodcuts signed A in Plantin's numerous editions did not really come from Dion à Prato's Paris edition of 1571, together with the designs for all the other woodcuts of which Plantin made use? But the statements which follow bear directly upon the question, and the conclusion may be arrived at, that from 1571 there was a community of plan between Paris and Antwerp in nearly all the designs for the Alciati emblems; the respective printers borrowed and interchanged and copied without any compunction, it being understood between themselves that they were at liberty to do so.

Connected with Plantin the name of Claude Mignault first appears in 1573,[30] in an edition of the emblems, 211 in number with 168 devices; the edition is a 24mo, and the devices are neat little woodcuts, without any engraver's mark. Many of them probably were from Plantin's edition of 1565, with Stockhamer's notes; they were afterwards imitated in the Genevan 24mo of 1614.

But it was the next year, 1574, to which really belongs the publication of Mignault's full commentary and notes to the Alciati emblems. This edition by Plantin was followed in different years by several others. M. P. Gall-Morel of Einsiedeln remarks, September 26th 1870, on collating a copy for our catalogue: "Les figures sont petites et sans la marque du Xylographe." In his copy, A 343, Douce has written: "Many of the cuts are close copies from those in the editions printed by Marnef and Jean de Tournes. Others are quite original. They were certainly done by Anthony Van Leist of Antwerp."

More complete editions, with the Mignault-commentaries and notes, were sent forth by Plantin in 1577 and 1581;

[30] As will be seen under Plantin's edition, Antwerp 1574, Clement and Douce claim the distinction for that edition, and others, as Goujet and Desmolet, suppose it belongs to edition 1583, or even 1587.

and may be regarded as that printer's models for his after editions. The devices are new with rich borders, and the woodcuts for the trees are far superior to any which had before been engraved for a similar purpose. They generally represent branches of the trees laden with fruit. The monogram A[31] occurs on the woodcuts to emblems i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, xvii, xviii, xxi, xxii and xxxvii, and has occasioned different conjectures. The same monogram A is found among the woodcuts to "EMBLEMATA, cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis, Joannis Sambuci," Antv., Plantin 1564; and the authors of *Annales Plantiniennes* 1865, p. 42, say: "The mark A designates very probably Assuerus Van Londerzeel." But if, as the account runs, Londerzeel was not born before 1548, and flourished 1576–1599, the A could not have been his monogram as an artist in 1555 and 1558, though it might have been in 1577.

The plates in Plantin's edition of 1581 are exactly the same with those of 1577; and Bryan[32] expressly attributes the execution in 1581 of a set of cuts for the emblems of Andrea Alciati to Virgil Solis, who, born at Nuremberg in

[31] In the first book printed, "En Anvers, de l'imprimerie de Christofle Plantin 1555," "L'INSTITUTION *d'une fille de noble maison*," there is a pretty vignette, "which," say *Les Annales Plantiniennes*, p. 6, "bears the monogram A, and which is attributed to Assuerus Van Londerzeel." Also in Thevet's "SINGULARITEZ *de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique*, à Anvers, Plantin 1558," some of the woodcuts representing animals and plants "bear the mark A" (Assuerus Van Londerzeel?) *Ann. Plant.* p. 17. There are also other vignettes well executed but without monogram, which apparently are not from the same hand as the woodcuts marked A. Whoever A may denote he was employed by Plantin at the very origin of his renowned printing office. There was, however, in Plantin's service an Anton. van Leest, as well as an Assuerus van Landerzeel, and A. V. L. on an allegorical device to Lobel's *Plantarum seu stirpium historia*, Antv., Plantin 1576, is interpreted to suit either artist. See *Ann. Plantiniennes*, p. 172.

We are informed in Brunet's *Manuel*, tome iv. c. 67, under the heading NICOLAY (*Nicholas de*) that, for the edition at Antwerp by Silvius 1576 of *Navigations and Peregrinations* the woodcuts "have been in part made by Ahasuerus von Landfeld, or Londersel."

[32] *Dictionary of Engravers and Printers*, ed. 1849, p. 750.

1514, wrought at least as early as 1541. He died indeed in 1562, but out of the 800 prints which he designed and executed, there were many not made use of until after his death, as 170 cuts for *The Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Frankfort 1563, and a set of cuts for the *Emblems* of Nicholas Reusner 1583. "He made designs," it is said, "and traced them on wood prepared for being engraved." An amusing inscription on his portrait[33] sets forth his multifarious talents and employments, as well as those of many other artists of his time:

> "Virgilius Solis was my name;
> Through all the world extends my fame;
> For artists many formed by me,
> Acknowledge my paternity
> And call me father. I did ever
> To serve them use my best endeavour:
> *I painted*, graved with the burin;
> *Illumin'd*, to make art alluring;
> *Design'd*, to waken their ability;
> And *etch'd*, to teach their hands facility;
> And subjects *traced on blocks of wood;*
> So no one as my equal stood
> In executing works of art,
> With skill refined in every part."

The probability therefore is of much strength that, unless they bear the monogram A, the vast proportion of the plates in Plantin's editions of the Alciati emblems 1577, 1581, &c., ought to be assigned to the artistic skill of Virgil Solis. The question however remains undecided respecting the ownership of the A monogram. Through many editions of varying sizes, down to Balthazar Moretus in 1648, the much vexed A appears. It might happen that a search in the venerable archives, library and printing office of Plantin (still existing with his own vine in the Place du Marché de

[33] *Dictionary of Engravers and Printers*, ed. 1849, p. 750.

Vendredi at Antwerp), would discover some chips from the old blocks of 1577 or the blocks themselves, and the mystery no longer remain unsolved.

Returning to Dion à Prato and his fourth edition of the Alciati emblems, Paris 1571, we are required I think, by the evidence, to regard him as the common ancestor both of the Plantinian editions beginning in 1573, and of the multifarious Paris editions issued, — sometimes with the name of Jean Richer 1584–1608 in the title-pages, at other times with the name of Stephen Valletus 1589–1608, and anon with that of Francis Gueffier 1589–1608, on the title-pages. Of these editions certain title-pages have engraved within the columns of a portal a fine effigy of Alciati; they bear the signature Jaques de Wieert, as Vallet's edition 1602; or Jaques de Weert, as Richer's editions 1601, 1608 and 1618. De Weert resided chiefly at Paris, where, among several other book-ornaments, he wrought the frontispieces of these editions.

The 211 devices for emblems and trees are from the old stock of Paris and Antwerp, for on comparing one by one the devices to the 197 emblems and the 14 trees in Plantin's issue of 1577, and in Vallet's of 1602, the only designs for the emblems proper which are not identical, the trees being excepted, are those to emblems vii, xliv, lxxx and lxxxii. The representations of the trees differ very widely, and greatly to the advantage of edition 1577. For the Paris edition there had been recuttings of the figures, but as to when, where and by whom, no monogram gives a sign.

The palatial library at Modena possesses a volume without frontispiece, containing six devices for as many emblems, with the Latin verses of Alciati below them. The librarian, signor L. Carbonieri informed me, July 15th 1870, that they bear the name of the engraver, John Sadeler, and are assigned to the year 1599. In the same library a volume

of engravings of several authors also contains four other Alciati emblems, figured on copper by the same John Sadeler.[34] Of the *six* plates *one* is marked "*Eg. Mostard pinx*," *i.e.* Gilles Mostaert, born near Antwerp in 1520, and dying in 1598 or in 1601; *another* is signatured "*inv. Matthia Bril*," who was born in Antwerp in 1550, and going to Italy during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. was employed by him in painting landscapes in the Loggie of the Vatican; he died at Rome in 1584 or 1587; and a *third* plate has the notation, "*Petri Stephani figur.*," who may have been the same with Pietro Stephanone, an Italian engraver living in 1620.

The facts here established point out how, with due research in other libraries, fragmentary sets of designs and engravings might be discovered to illustrate the most popular emblems of their day, and of two or three generations after. And surely it is interesting to note how Alciati's emblem cliv., *De Morte et Amore*, engaged the power of so eminent a painter as Matthew Brill; and how an illustration of emblem lxxxi., *Desidiam abjiciendam*, is assigned to Gilles Mostaert, whose picture, *Christ on the cross between the Virgin and S. John*, still adorns the museum at Antwerp.

The Tornæsius, or Jean de Tournes of Lyons, whose editions of the Alciati emblems have already been named, learned printing from Sebastian Grypheus of Lyons, who in 1548 was among the first to publish, though without devices, a full edition of the emblems. This John de Tournes founded one of the most celebrated printing offices in Europe, which endured for 240 years in Lyons, Cologne and Geneva. He died in 1564, and was succeeded by a second

[34] John Sadeler was the elder brother of Raphael Sadeler, and uncle of Egidius or Giles Sadeler, all three artists of very high repute in the sixteenth century. John was born at Brussels in 1550, and died at Venice in 1600, where his son Maurice was established as a publisher of prints.

John de Tournes, who being compelled in 1585 to quit Lyons because of his protestantism, settled in Geneva, and died there in 1615, leaving a third John de Tournes. All three printed editions of the Alciati emblems. Of the Lyons editions we have spoken; there were three editions set forth in Cologne, the Latin text in 1614 and two French versions in 1615. The plates are the same with very slight differences; and on comparison it has been ascertained by M. W. Vischer of Bâle, September 10th 1870,—"Les planches du premier livre se trouvent dejà dans l'edition, A Lyon par Jean de Tournes 1555."

Three editions also by a Jean de Tournes were printed at Geneva in 1628, 1639 and 1648. A copy of the 1639 edition, now in the Bodleian library, contains a short note in Douce's hand-writing: "There are 121 cuts in this copy, or eight more than in that of 1561, by the same printer.[35] It has also the addition of a second book. Same designs, but different cuts, as in Plantin's edition."

The Alciati emblems which have been printed in Spain, 1615–1784, are divisible into two classes: 1°, the class to which Diego Lopez added notes in Spanish, which were generally printed by Vilagrassa of Valencia down to 1684; and 2°, the class in which are collected the Latin text and notes alone, and which were published in Madrid as late as 1784.

Didacus, or Diego Lopez, was a schoolmaster at Toro, a town of Leon about 30 miles from Salamanca. He translated several Latin classics into Spanish.[36] The devices in the editions by Lopez are in part from wood and in part from copper. They are rudely designed and executed, and present no mark by which the artist can even be conjectured.

[35] An inaccuracy; it should be, by a printer of the same name and same family; the interval was 78 years.

[36] See Antonio's *Biblioth. Hispana nova*, vol. i. p. 294.

In a collation of the last edition, that of 1684, from Evora in Portugal, July 12th 1870, the sub-librarian declares "that the plates are in general very imperfect." For the imperfect there is little necessity even to attempt to discover the artist-author.

Respecting the devices in the Madrid editions of 1615 and 1739, there are not sufficient data from which to form a conclusion. The director of the National library at Madrid, D. Cayetan Rosell, collated for me the edition of Madrid 1749, and observes, August 9th 1870: "Casi todos los emblemas tienen una viñeta al fin de la 'Explicatio.' Las viñetas son de deferentes tamañes.[37] No information however is conveyed as to the artist by whom they were executed. A copy of the Madrid edition 1781 is in the British Museum, but on close examination not one of the 211 devices reveals an artist's monogram.

In the six editions of the Alciati emblems, some of them of great excellence, which were issued at Padua 1618–1661, it is disappointing to find no trace of monogram or artist's mark. The devices from edition 1618 are repeated, with borders, in 1621; and a fine memorial border, with Alciati's portrait, accompanies the title-page of both editions. The same woodcuts are repeated in 1626 and in 1661. This last edition has a splendidly designed and engraved title-page by Ruphenus; it is in six principal compartments, with suitable emblematical figures.

For the Paduan edition of 1618 an Italian origin of the woodcuts may almost for a certainty be assigned;[38] "they are copies," as Weigel says, "of those in the Plantinian edition of the Alciati emblems with the mark A."

A collection of the "*Carmina*" of the illustrious poets of

[37] *i.e.* Almost all the emblems have a vignette at the end of the Explication. The vignettes are of different sizes.

[38] See Weigel's *Catal.*, No. 20151.

Italy, Florence 1719, contains the Alciati emblems; but signor Gaspare Gorresio of the university of Turin, in his collation of a copy, July 5th 1870, remarks: "The plates of the emblems are wanting."

And now that photo-lithography has taken up the employment of reproducing in fac-simile old things whether bad or good, we cannot look for a new and independent designing and engraving of devices for the Alciati emblems. Those who have examined the entire series from 1531 to 1784 can have no doubt that designs and woodcuts much superior to any that have yet appeared could be produced; I will not say easily produced; for the workmanship of Jollat and the Little Bernard, of Del Vaga, of Voeiriot and of Vingles, of Jost Ammon, of Virgil Solis and of Van Leest, was that of masters who had skill and power, and with the appliances of modern days they would have made their productions far more effective.

Bibliographical Study leads to some brief account of the Expositions and COMMENTARIES on the Alciati emblems. The early editions down to 1549 are without notes of any kind. In that year Barptolemy Aneau appended to many of the emblems in his French version short expositions, showing the moral or application to be made, and occasionally introducing some historical remark.

When the emblems in two books were published by Tornæsius and Gazeius of Lyons in 1556, Sebastian Stockhamer, a German, added "succincta commentariola," *short little notes* in Latin. The dedication was written in 1552; and mentioning the knowledge which the author had gained from various quarters, declares: "These emblems of Alciati, not less pleasant and sportive than learned and useful, do not need a foreigner's praise; for every point bears proof, that the practical is blended with the sweet." The notes

extend only to the first book; they were repeated in 1614 by Tornæsius of Geneva, and for the second book "commentariola" were also compiled.

For the Frankfort edition of 1567 were written *ΕΠΙΜΥΘΙΑ*, or "affabulationes," following each emblem, to show its meaning and to explain what was doubtful or obscure. These were continued in several other editions, as in those of Roville 1574 and 1580, and in the Frankfort edition by Basse in 1583.

Spain now enters on the popular labour of elucidating the emblems of Alciati. A professor of rhetoric and of Greek in the university of Salamanca, Franciscus Sanctius,[39] was the author of a very useful, and being brief, of the most useful commentary, published at Lyons by Roville in 1573. Without being amplified by an excess of learning, it supplies all the information that is needed for the understanding of the author.

Cl. Minois or Minos, or Claude Mignault,[40] of Dijon, the ancient capital of the dukes of Burgundy, is the most celebrated of the commentators on Alciati's emblems. He was born in 1536 and died in 1606. Though untaught until his twelfth year, he made remarkable progress, and attained very high consideration as a man of learning, much of which

[39] His "*Minerva, seu de causis linguæ latinæ commentarius,*" published first at Salamanca, 8vo, 1587, has been reprinted no less than six times between 1734 and 1809.

[40] Douce, in the Bodleian collection of his emblem library, A 317, writes: "Cl. Minois, the Editor, was in plain French Claude Mignault. Leodegarius Agothochromius, mentioned in Mignault's preface, was simple Leger Bontems, for whom Du Verdier has an article in his 'Bibliothèque,' ed. Lyons, folio, 1585, p. 787."

Of Mignault's own work, the *Annales Plantiniennes*, ed. 1865, p. 226, give the pithy character: "Les commentaires de Cl. Mignault sont pleins d'erudition, mais d'une prolixité fatigante."

The article referred to by Douce concerning Leger Bontems merely says, — "religieux de S. Benigne à Dijon a écrit," — naming the seven works he published between 1557 and 1568.

he devoted to his favourite emblematist. Like him he was a jurisconsult, and was "Avocat du roy" at Etampes in the department of the Seine, on his journeys to which from Paris, as we have stated, he rendered the Alciati Carmina into French verse. At first, in Dion à Prato's fourth edition of the emblems, Paris 1571, his notes assumed the form of an "enarratio" or exposition, being either the groundwork of his commentaries or extracted from them. It has been generally supposed that the commentaries in their full extent were first given to the world by Plantin of Antwerp in 1583; but Douce affirms[41] that this honour belongs to the Antwerp edition of 1574; but according to Mazzuchelli[42] an earlier date may be assigned, "as appears," he says, "from his Letter dedicatory directed to Anna d'Escars, Abbot of S. Benigno in Dijon, dated from Paris the first of December 1571, which seems to have been omitted in the greater part of the later impressions."

In 1573, for the first time at Antwerp, the commentaries and scholia of Minos were printed in Plantin's 24mo edition of 560 pages; they were supplemented in the same volume by "*Posteriores Notæ*," or as they were named in the Lyons edition of 1614, "*Δευτέραι φρόντιδες*," *Second thoughts.* In this edition is Plantin's letter of apology "to his own Cl. Minos" for the delay which had taken place in the printing; it bears the date "postridie Idium Septem. M.D.LXXII.," and proves that Plantin had not before this imprinted Mignault's comments.

The same comments and notes were repeated at Antwerp in 1574, but in the Antwerp edition of 1577 the *second* thoughts were combined with the *first*, and in some cases both were amplified; and the SYNTAGMA, or *Composition*

[41] See A 348 in his emblem collection in the Bodleian library.

[42] "*Gli Scrittori d'Italia*," vol. i. p. 366. It should be observed however, that it is not a printed edition, but the date of the dedication to which Mazzuchelli testifies.

concerning Symbols, was prefixed. So the Plantinian press of Antwerp and Leyden pursued its labours until in 1608 there were added a portrait and life of Alciati.[43]

These full notes, with some variations of little importance, adorn the Paris editions by Valletus and Richer between 1589 and 1608.

Editions with shorter notes were issued by the Plantinian press from 1584 to 1648. Those shortened notes, along with the "notulis ex temporarijs" of Pignorius, constitute "the compendious explication by Cl. Minos" in the 12mo Paduan edition M.DC.XIIX., *i.e.* 1618.

Marnef and Cavellat's Paris editions in Latin and French, 1573 and 1574, contain short explanations in both languages. These point out the general meaning of the emblem, and sometimes add the particular application. The Latin notes are not Stockhamer's, neither are the verses Le Fevre's. The Paris edition of 1583, published by Marnef and by Cavellat's widow, adopted Mignault's commentary.

The Spanish *Declaracion Magistral* in 1615, or Magisterial Exposition of the Emblems of Alciati, by Diego Lopez of Valencia, professes to give all the histories and antiquities, the morality and the doctrine relating to good manners which are set forth in the original work. It manifests much learning, and after each Latin stanza appends notes in Spanish, principally by Lopez himself, though some of them are derived from Mignault.

The Madrid editions of the emblems 1739–1781 repeat Mignault's "easy and compendious explication," being short

[43] This 1577 edition adds moreover "*An Address* to the studious and candid reader" by Claudius Minos; an *Interpretatio* for the Greek epigrams, &c., contained in the comments, and a *Laudatio* to the emblems of Alciati; being in fact an oration delivered at Paris in the royal school of the Burgundians, "9 Kalend. Maias 1576."

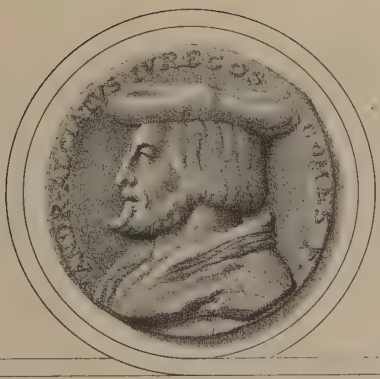
Latin notes on the text. A life of Alciati is added. I have seen it asserted somewhere that these editions were used in Spain as school books.

But the monster commentary, occupying a double-columned 4to of 1004 pages, was not hatched until 1621, and again with greater perfection of notes and indices in 1661. It proceeded from the labours and the watchings of John Thuilius, professor of Latin in the university of the Brisgau, a territory between the Black Forest and the Rhine. By way of contrast to its own diffuseness, this commentary really needs but brief words of praise. Questionless it is a learned work very zealously constructed. Out of the commentaries of Claude Minos and Francis Sanctius, and of the notes of Laurence Pignorius, the author or editor has digested his work "into a continuous series of one commentary." And it is what it claims to be,—"a work prepared and adorned with a copious variety of Sentences, Apophthegms, Adages, Fables, Mythologies, Hieroglyphics, Coins, Pictures and Tongues;" increased moreover by the "Corollaria et Monita" of Frederick Morell, regius professor. The work is deserving of the high commendation bestowed upon it by Bayle: "Cette edition est fort bonne."

Catz delighted the patres-familias and children of Holland; Quarles, through forty editions, by his quaint conceits and pious thoughts, many of the religious world of England; to Alciati belonged at least an equal fame, to command the reverence and labours of the learned from Valencia to Augsburg, and from Padua near the Adriatic to Leyden at the mouth of the Rhine.

Under the general heads of the influence of the Alciati emblems upon the similar literature of Europe, and of the

artistic sources from which their pictorial symbolism was derived, the conclusion of our Life of Andrea Alciati was occupied: under general heads also have been considered the woodcuts with which the editions are ornamented,—their designers and engravers,—and also the various notes and commentaries upon the text. To have passed these things over with a bare allusion, or materially to have contracted them, would have been to withhold information not elsewhere collected, and to have lessened the real value of the Alciati emblem-book catalogue. What has been done involved a considerable expenditure of research; it could not have been described without a wide occupation of space. The *specialities* of the numerous editions we have endeavoured to avoid; those will be found each under its own date and with its own collation.



A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CATALOGVE OF THE VARIOVS EDITIONS OF THE BOOKS OF EMBLEMS OF ANDREA ALCIATI.

CHVNRADVS · PEVTINGER · AVGVSTAN · IVRIS · VTRIVSQVE · DOCTOR · ÆTATIS · SVÆ · ANNO · LXII
ANNO · M · D · LX.
SALVTIS · MDXXVII

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

VERY little explanation would be required, in pursuance of a carefully considered plan, were we not aiming to make this Catalogue of the editions of Alciati's Emblem-books regular and methodical throughout; and, even with this aim, the principal notice we have to give, is simply to state the order which will be followed, and the rules that will be observed:

I. The TITLE, as far as practicable, will be literally printed from a copy of the edition to be described, a vertical mark | indicating where one line ends and another begins. The printer's device and motto will be noted when they occur; and the place of printing, the name of the printer or publisher, and the date of the issue.

Then will be added, if there be one, the COLOPHON, or the printer's mark, at the end of the last page or leaf.

N.B. Editions, the titles of which stand within brackets [ ] have not been collated: they rest on the *authority* to be immediately afterwards mentioned.

II. The COLLATION COPY is then named, and the libraries[1] where *other copies* of the same edition are known to exist. Brief references also are made to authors that have mentioned the editions. Should there not have been a collation copy the AUTHORITY is referred to on which the edition is inscribed in the catalogue.

To identify the libraries named, where otherwise a doubt might arise, the following *contractions* will be used:

Amb. Ambrosian.	D. Ducal.	Pal. Palatine.
Arch. Archiepiscopal.	G.S. Grand Seminary.	Pr. Provincial.
Can. Cantonal.	I. Imperial.	Pub. Public.
Cath. Cathedral.	M. Monastery.	R. Royal.
Com. Communal.	N. National.	U. University.

III. The SIZE of the VOLUME, as estimated according to the number of foldings in the sheets of paper which the printer uses, is generally denominated folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo, &c. This method being very inexact, precision will be aimed at by inserting the *height* and *width*, or as they are often termed, the *length* and *breadth* of the volume, thus: 8vo, 9.4 inches × 5.9 inches, or 9.4 × 5.9.[2]

[1] When the owner's name is used it will be printed in *italic* letters.

[2] When it is desirable to change the English inches into the French metrical measure of length, it must be remembered, that

39.37079	or nearly 40. English inches	=	the French metre.	
3.937079	,, 4. ,,	=	,,	decimetre.
.3937079	,, $\frac{4}{10}$ of an Eng. inch	=	,,	centimetre.
.03937079	,, $\frac{1}{25}$,, ,,	=	,,	millimetre.

I. For *practical purposes*, when a small error is of little consequence, *English inches* are easily converted into *French centimetres*, thus: multiply the inches by 10 and divide the product by 4; or remove the decimal point of the inches one place to the right hand and divide by 4; the quotient gives the centimetres nearly:

7.68 Eng. inches $= \frac{7.68 \times 10}{4}$, or $\frac{76.8}{4} = 19.2$ French centimetres, where the error is only three-tenths of one centimetre.

II. For *exactness*, divide the Eng. inches by .3937:

$7.68 \div .3937$, or $\frac{7.68}{.3937} = 19.507$ French centimetres.

Should the collation have taken place in a foreign library the French *centimetres* will also be given.

The necessity for this *greater precision* is evident from the facts, that the sheet of paper out of which Bank of England notes are made measures about 16.14 inches × 5.12 ; a sheet of *Imperial*, 30 × 22 ;[3] of *Colombier*, 34 × 23 ; of *Double Elephant*, 40 × 16 ; and of the huge *London Newspaper* about 50 × 37 : yet these sheets of paper, of such widely varying magnitudes, folded *once*, are all named *folios ;* twice, *quartos ;* folded again, *octavos ;* and so on. The surfaces of the original sheets differ in the amount of square inches as the numbers 82, 660, 782, 1040 and 1850, and the folios, quartos and octavos formed from them as 1, 8, 10, 13, 23 ; that is, an *octavo* from a sheet of Bank note paper is only one *twenty-third* part of an *octavo* from a sheet of London News. It seems almost absurd to speak of them by the same name ; yet when the measurements of length and width are affixed, there is sufficient definiteness for practical use. A better plan perhaps might be devised, in which the number of square inches in one flap of the cover might form the basis on which to construct a nomenclature for the size of books. The innovation however would be too great were it attempted to name a volume as a *five*, a *ten*, or a *twenty*, according as the square inches, arising from the product of the length into the width, were nearest to 5, 10, or 20 square inches.

Such an innovation however will not be adopted in these pages ; but the *nature* of the size of the volume will be indicated, as we have announced, by affixing the measurements ; thus, 4to, 9.9 *in.* × 6.7 ; or 4to, 7.04 *in.* × 5.1 : the *one* quarto containing 66.33 square inches, the *other* 35.9, showing that the first quarto is nearly double the size of the second.

Two other measurements are also occasionally given ; that of the *fully printed page*, and that of the *device* or *woodcut :* this is especially done with the *first* of a series of editions, as of Steyner, Wechel of Paris, Roville, De Tournes, Plantin, &c.

IV. The REGISTER will now follow, as deduced from the *Signatures*, and verified by the *pagination*, or numbering of the pages.

[3] See *Technological Dict., English, German and French*, Wiesbaden 1870.

V. The CONTENTS of the edition will be briefly stated; in a series of editions reference being made to the first, or to any other edition, by its number in the catalogue.

VI. A statement respecting the EMBLEMS, the DEVICES, and the ARTISTS will often be made, or a reference to a similar edition in the catalogue.

VII. *Lastly:* There will be added, when required, GENERAL REMARKS or specialities in the edition, including notices by critics.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CATALOGUE

OF THE EDITIONS

IN THE ORDER OF THE DATES.

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1. ["ANDREAE ALCIATI emblematum liber; Mediol. 1522, 8." die "alteste."]

Authority: Such is the meagre record of the title given by Bernd,[4] Erster Theil, p. 19; Brunet,[5] without quoting any title,—which surely he would have done had he seen the book,—adds that it consists "de 43 pp.;" and Panzer[6] varies the title, and thus prints it, "Andreae Alciati Emblemata *Mediolani* 1522. 8."

As an historical fact it may be admitted that a collection of emblems was made at Milan in 1522 by Andrea Alciati, and communicated to his friends; but until a printed copy of that collection be produced, the work must be regarded as having existed only in manuscript, and not as a printed volume.

The subject however is sufficiently curious and interesting to the bibliographer and bibliophilist to justify a detailed statement:

1° Of the testimony on which the supposition rests, that Alciati both printed and published a book of emblems at Milan in 1522;

2° Of the reasons why the evidence so adduced may be regarded as inconclusive; and

[4] "*Schriftenkunde der gesammten Wappenwissenschaft*," Bonn 1830.

[5] Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, 1860–1865, vol. i. col. 147.

[6] Panzer's *Annales Typographiæ*, Nuremberg 1793–1803, vol. vii. p. 402.

3° Of the inquiries which have been carried on, without success, for discovering any where any copy of a Milan edition at the early date assigned.

I. This collection of emblems has frequently been spoken of with great confidence as if it had both been printed and published at Milan in the year 1522.

Referring to the early editions Brunet,[7] vol. i. col. 147, declares: "This edition of 1534 is more complete than the first imprinted at Milan in 1522, in 8vo, of 43 pp., and which has become very rare, because the author of it, people say, has withdrawn the copies; however it," *i.e.* the edition of 1534, "has ordinarily only a moderate price, the same as the re-impressions by Wechel in 1535, in 1540 and in 1544, in 8vo, with engravings on wood."

Brunet's phrase runs almost parallel to that of Graesse,[8] thus: "La première (Mediol. 1522, en 8, 43 pp.) est la plus rare, l'auteur en ayant, à ce que l'on dit, retiré les exemplaires." Did not Brunet and Graesse make use of a common authority, and does either of them speak from personal knowledge?

Bernd, treating of collections of emblems, quotes a title for the Milan volume, almost as if he had a copy of it before him; yet adds: "Eine der ältesten und bekanntesten Schriften dieser Art, welche häufig gedruckt und benützt worden,

[7] No one acquainted with Brunet's trustworthiness will be forward to call his statements in question. As an excellent critic remarked to me on this very passage: "I am convinced the statement would not have been made if he had not seen the book with his own eyes, or received immediate evidence of its existence." Yet it is strange that he does not give the title, but appears to rest on "*dit-on*," or hearsay evidence, instead of adducing independent proof of his own. Besides, why did he not place it in its natural position at the head of his list of Alciati's emblem-books, instead of giving as he has done, with all particulars of title, place, printer and date, the *first* position to Steyner's edition, Feb. 28th 1531.

[8] Graesse's *Tresor de Livres rares et précieux*, Dresden 1858–1861, 4to, vol. v. p. 62.

auch einiger wirkliche Wappen, sinnbildlich betrachtet und sinngedichtlich besungen, enthält est." *i.e.*

One of the oldest and best known writings of this kind which was frequently printed and made use of, and which also contains some real armorial bearings, allegorically regarded and epigrammatically set forth.

The "*Schrift*" or *writing* he speaks of, was it a printed book in 1522, or a manuscript afterwards "frequently printed?"

Panzer, who supplies a title, and names the Milan emblems "Editio prima rarissima," does not do it on his own knowledge, but quotes "Clem. i. p. 139; Freyt. Appar. iii. p. 466."

Mazzuchelli's[9] testimony, 1753, is doubtfully expressed; he says: "It may be believed that the first edition was made" ("fatta," not "stampata," nor "appressa," as it should be if printing was intended) "in 1522, or about that time, because in that year they were composed" (composti) "by him, as appears from one of his letters. He did not make" (egli non ne fece) "at first more than an hundred, and then went on adding to them at different times, until they reached the number of 212."

Freytag's[10] authority belongs to the year 1755. In his third volume, p. 466, he says: "Alciati first had published his emblems at Milan in 1522, which edition however, containing but one hundred emblems and otherwise very imperfect, the author himself, after a short interval of time, very carefully sought out, and as far as possible withdrew from the public."[11] For his authorities Freytag refers to "*Bibliothèque française de l'Abbé Goujet*, tom. vii. p. 77," and "Dauid Cle-

[9] "*Scrittori D'Italia*," Brescia 1753, fol., vol. i. pt. i §. 27, p. 366.

[10] *Adparatvs Litterarivs*, Lipsiæ 1755, in 3 vols.

[11] Freytag's Latin text is, "Euulgauerat sua *emblemata* primum ALCIATVS *Mediolani* 1522, quam tamen editionem, quum centum tantum modo continuerat emblemata, & admodum esset imperfecta, ipse auctor, breue temporis interiecto spatio, studiose conquisiuit, & quoad fieri potuit, e medio remouit."

ment v. Cl. *Bibliothèque curieuse historique & critique de livres difficiles à trouver*, tom. i. p. 139." Gottingen M.DCC.L., 4to.

Thus Freytag appears to be the primary authority on which Brunet, Graesse, Bernd and Panzer rest; and Freytag himself refers to Goujet and Clement.

Of these two Clement is the next distant in point of time, A.D. 1750. His first volume, p. 139, very briefly records Alciati's emblems: "Ej. Emblemata, Mediolani 1522. *Première Edition fort rare.*" Certainly this has not the appearance of being copied from a title-page; and the note which Clement adds renders it evident that he rehearses merely the testimony of another witness, thus:

"It is the first edition, which contains only a hundred emblems. It was very imperfect. Alciati having perceived this compelled himself to withdraw all the copies of it which were already spread abroad, and it is this which causes it to be *very rare.* See la Bibliothèque Françoise de l'Abbé Goujet, vol. vii. p. 77. Since that very time Alciati has reviewed, corrected, polished and considerably enlarged this work, of which there have been made an infinity of editions. Mr. *Bayle*, who was ignorant of this circumstance, had an edition which contained 212 emblems: it is the reason why he was surprised, that *Paul Freher*[12] assured us in his *Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum*, p. 827, that this book contained only 100 emblems. *Freher* spoke of the 'first rough draught' (*ébauche*), and he was not wrong. I have an edition cum Explicatione per *Claudium Minoem*, printed at Antwerp by Plantin in 1584, in 12mo, which has only 211. See Dict. de Bayle,[13] art. *Alciat*, note M."

The abbé Goujet,[14] in his seventh tome, p. 77, Paris 1744, in treating of the translations of modern Latin poets into French, says:

"Andrew Alciat, a Milanese, is more known to us as an author than Jean Olivier.[15] The lawyers have loaded him with praises,

[12] Paul Freher's work was published at Nuremberg 1688, 2 tom. in 1 vol., folio.

[13] Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* was first published in 1695–1696.

[14] See his *Bibliothèque Françoise* in 18 volumes, 12mo, Paris 1740–1756.

[15] Jean Olivier was the author of *L'épigramme des enseignes des Véniciens envoyés à Sainct Denis*, 4to, of two leaves, Paris about 1509. It celebrates a battle gained by Louis XII. over the Venetians in 1509.

the poets and those who love morals have vaunted forth his emblems, — the only one of his works which can give him any rank upon Parnassus. The author composed them" (les composa) "in 1522, at Milan, even where he was born the 8th of May 1492. He made" (il ne fit) "at first only an hundred emblems, but in succession he increased the number of them at different times" (*reprises*). "The first rough draught" (ébauche) "was very imperfect, and people became aware of it as soon as it was published. Alciat himself perceived it; he had some shame about it, and his first impulse was to attempt, what was impossible, to withdraw all the copies already spread abroad. Christian Wechel, an able printer of Paris, gave him wiser advice, and certainly more easy to follow; it was to revise his work, to correct it and to polish it with care" (de le limer). "Alciat listened to this advice and yielded to it. A severe censor of himself, he passed the sponge over whatever appeared reprehensible, and added several emblems. It was in this state that he sent his work to Wechel, who charged himself with the office of giving a new edition of it. The Epistle dedicatory of this learned printer, whence I have drawn the details which you have just read, is dated in the year 1534, and addressed to *Philibert Baboo*, bishop of Angouleme."

It is remarkable that Goujet, the authority at which, through step by step, we have arrived, uses very doubtful terms; not, "il imprima ses Emblèmes à Milan," — nor, "il les publia à Milan en 1522;" but "L'Auteur les composa en 1522 à Milan;" "at first he made" (fit) "only a hundred of them;" "he increased the number of them at different times" (reprises), which cannot be interpreted re-impressions or re-prints, for none are mentioned. "The first" (ébauche) *drawing* or "rough draught was very imperfect;" and, by comparison of dates, Milan 1522, Paris 1534, *twelve* years after the supposed grievance of the Milan imperfect first edition, Wechel induced Alciati "to pass the sponge over all that was blame-worthy, and to add several emblems." What Christian Wechel,[16] in his dedicatory epistle of 1534

[16] Wechel's words on p. 2, edition 1534, are: "*Testis et hic And. Alciati Emblematum libellus, qui superioribus annis idq; Autoris iniussu, tam neglectè, ut ne quid grauius addam, apud Germanos inuulgatus fuit, ut illius minuendæ existimationis ergô, à maleuolis quibusdam id fuisse factum, plurimi interpretarentur.*"

really blames, is not a Milan edition of 1522, but "what certain Germans had done in former years with such negligence, that many persons thought it was done by malevolent people."[16] Wechel's new edition of 1534 was not to supplant a Milan edition of 1522, but the Augsburg edition of 1531.

Goujet's testimony then is in reality by no means favourable to the existence of a Milan printed edition of 100 emblems issued in 1522; he does not say that he had seen such a volume; neither does Wechel, whose advice in 1534 Alciati had followed.

II. The reasons why the evidence just adduced in favour of a Milan edition of 1522 should not be deemed conclusive, have already been entered upon in what has been said concerning Goujet, pp. 106 and 107.

If any of the foregoing authors who speak of a Milan edition of 1522 had seen a copy, surely they would have recorded a printer's name, like the Augsburg edition of 1531, and the Paris edition of 1534. Then it is a suspicious coincidence that the number of leaves (43) ascribed to the supposed Milan edition with only 100 emblems, should be exactly the same with the leaves of the Augsburg edition, though the latter contains 104 emblems, and besides, has Alciati's preface to Conrad Peutinger. The *ébauche* or drawing of this Augsburg volume is indeed wretched, and might well have excited the author's vexation; for it was done in a distant city where he could have no oversight of the workmanship. And it is not to be lightly admitted that either the drawing of the devices, or the printing of the text, executed in Milan under the author's own supervision, would have been so very defective as at once to excite his displeasure: neither is it to be supposed that in Milan, the city where Da Vinci practised both as a painter and an engraver, there could have been an artist so atrociously bad

and untrustworthy, that the patron, being no other than Alciati, who employed him, was at once obliged to disown the work, and to withdraw it from public knowledge.

As negative evidence against the Milan edition we may bring forward the catalogue, *Bibliothecæ Acad. Theresiana*, Vindobonæ 1802, in thirteen quarto volumes: it does not name any edition of the Alciati emblems under the year 1522.[17]

Delandine too observes, when speaking of Alciati's emblems:[18] "*Peutinger* publia la première (edition) à Augsbourg en 1531 en 8."

The testimony of Niceron is very positive that the emblems were composed at Milan in 1522, but printed at Augsburg 1531. He says:[19]

"Alciat composa ces Emblèmes à *Milan* en 1522. Il n'en fit d'abord qu'une centaine, mais il les augmenta dans la suite à différentes reprises.[20] M. l'Abbé le Clerc dans ses Additions au Dictionnaire de *Bayle* veut que le première edition ait été faite à Milan en 1522. *Conrad Peutinger*, à qui *Alciat* les dédia les fit imprimer à *Augsbourg* en 1531, en 8. Il s'en est fait depuis un grand nombre d'éditions."

Edition, in the sense of imprint, is here applied to Peutinger's volume; and "the great number of editions which were since made," supposes that Augsburg was the first that was printed.

III. For discovering any copy any where of a Milan edition of Alciati's emblems at the early date assigned, namely 1522, very searching and special inquiries were made in

[17] See *Bib. Acad. Theres.*, vol. ii. pp. 127-130.

[18] See *Bibliothèque de Lyon*, 1818–1824, vol. ii. p. 180.

[19] Niceron's *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres*, Paris edition 1735, vol. xxxii. p. 325. A passage in vol. xiii. p. 340 (Paris edition 1730) will afterwards be quoted speaking with much greater decision.

[20] Remark how closely in 1744 the abbé Goujet follows the words of Niceron. The abbé says, "Il ne fit d'abord qu'une centaine d'Emblèmes, mais dans la suite il en augmenta le nombre à différentes reprises."

the spring and summer of 1869, when a circular was widely distributed by post to the chief libraries of the Continent of Europe and in Great Britain: the circular was entitled:

"*Enquête* pour découvrir la première Edition des Emblèmes d'André Alciat, illustre Jurisconsulte Italien, Milan, A.D. 1522."

This appeal received numerous replies, but in no instance was successful. An amateur of Alciati's emblems to whom they had long been a study, the rev. G. S. Cautley, wrote to me March 27th 1869:

"Alas! I can give you no help in the matter of the Milan Alciati. I have the edition of 1531, and from ignorance have ventured to imagine that there might be none earlier, and I had fancied from Wechel's preface to edition of 1535 that the Augsburg one was printed from a MS. surreptitiously. You will confer a great boon on us all, should your *Oecumenical* letter summon from its hiding place the missing volume."

Personally I examined the large collections of emblem-books at Keir, at Thingwall near Liverpool, and at Mr. Corser's near Manchester; in the Bodleian library, Oxford, and in the British Museum: also at Heidelburg, the Hague, and other large libraries in Holland, at Brussels, Louvain and Antwerp. Among others I received returns or answers to the circular from Berlin, from Venice, from Munich, from Oporto and from the duc d'Aumale. The catalogues of foreign libraries in the British Museum were consulted; but no where was the lost Pleiad to be discovered. The circular or "Enquête" was answered with so much courtesy that I felt justified in concluding that when a return was not made, it was withheld from the fact that the library in question did not possess the much sought-for rarity.

At the end of October 1869, by advertisement in the Allgemeine Zeitung of Leipzig, a *douceur* of 50 francs was offered for satisfactory information respecting a copy of the Milan collection of 1522. Within a few days the advertisement was answered from two quarters. The *first*

respondent gave a clear description of his copy, but it was without a title-page; there were borders to all the pages, and on some of the borders the engraver's initials, P. V. These facts enabled me at once to identify the supposed Milan edition of 1522 with one of the Lyons editions by Roville or Bonhomme, issued between the years 1548 and 1566.

The *second* respondent was a bookseller of Berlin, Mr. Calvary, who affirmed there was a Milan 1522 copy of the emblems in the Royal library of that city. Such information demanded personal inspection, and there was a little delay in making it; but an English gentleman, Mr. J. E. Westwood, a friend of the rev. G. S. Cautley who had taken a lively interest in the inquiry, was visiting Berlin, and through him an exact search was instituted. His report is given very characteristically in the following letter:

"Berlin, February 28, 1870.

My dear Mr. Cautley,

However grieved I may be at having to convey evil tidings, I am forced to tell you that there is *no* 1522 in the library. It was a mistake of Calvary's. The earliest edition which they have[21] is that of 1535 (which is naturally at the head of the list), where are written the words 'die erste Ausgabe Mediol. 1522.' Calvary seeing this, took it for the title of a book in the library. The book itself he did not ask to see. The words are merely a bibliographical notice. But Calvary was so positive that, though I had already looked through the catalogue in company of one of the librarians, I went back on Saturday and spoke to Dr. Schrader, who seems to have charge of that department. He good naturedly brought out the catalogue again, and we found just what I had already seen. He was very well aware that the edition was *not* in the library, and showed me the catalogue of *desiderata*, MS., his own hand-writing, where it figures plainly enough. I did myself the pleasure of going back to Calvary's with the information."

[21] This account agrees exactly with a return to my circular from the Royal library of Berlin in 1869, and also with a copy which I possess made in 1870 of a catalogue in MS. of all the books of emblems in that institution. The entry is made thus: "Andr. *Alciati Emblematum libellus*, Paris 1535, 8vo, (die erste Ausgabe erschien 1522.)" Mr. Westwood's letter however reports *Mediol.* instead of *erschien.*

A letter from Mr. Cautley to myself dated two days earlier, February 26th 1870, gives his view of the question at that time:

"The edition previous to 1531 must, one would think, have been printed for private circulation only, and so probably only a very few copies; for Wechel states that Alciati did not wish his tyrocinia to get abroad, and only let Wechel republish them with additions, because 'opus semel aliorum temeritate excusum supprimere vix erat integrum;'[22] so that should you have the good fortune to light upon this literary unicorn, it will be a treasure trove indeed."

The Berlin vision was a pure illusion, and a printed copy of the Milan collection of emblems was yet to be sought for.

The inquiry started in the Leipzic *Literary Times* was repeated, 10th April 1870, in the *Intermédiaire*, one of the Paris journals, but utterly without result; not even a single answer was sent to the advertisement.

The phœnix-hunt was resumed in the spring of the year 1870, but under another form. I prepared a list of 151 editions of the Alciati emblems, which I had seen, or of which (with the exception of the Milan edition) I had obtained certain information. The Milan collection however was placed at the head of the list, which was very extensively circulated by post among at least 268 public libraries of Europe, and to many in the United States of America. The circular, dated 22nd April 1870, was entitled:

"*Enquête* pour découvrir les Editions des Emblèmes d'André Alciat, illustre Jurisconsulte Italien."

[22] The passage in full is on p. 3 of Wechel's *Andreæ Alciati Emblematum Libellus* 1534, thus: "*Quanq̃ autē Alciatus inuitus fecit, ut studiorū suorū tyrocinia in manus hominū emitteret, quoniā tamen opus semel aliorū temeritate excusum supprimere uix erat integrū, facile ab eo impetraui, ut ad limā reuocaret, & fœtū illum immaturum informemq;, ursi instar, lambendo conformaret.*" The expressions, "the tyrocinia or first attempts of his youthful studies," "the immature and misshapen offspring, which, like a bear, he reduced into shape by licking," may have applied and probably did apply, — not to the Milan collection, but to the emblems which, as stated before, "certain Germans had published."

The circular requested that each librarian should cause a mark to be placed in the list, opposite the title of each edition that was in his library; and also that the titles of editions in his charge and not in my list, should be sent to me. The request was listened to in a most gratifying manner; many answers were made, and the list of the Alciati emblem editions increased from 150 to 180. But among the numerous replies to the second circular *not one* lays any claim to the possession of the Milan collection of 1522. Even, then, if that collection should hereafter be proved to have issued from the press at that early date, its extreme rarity is beyond doubt.

During the coming in of the answers to the second circular, it was stated with the utmost confidence by a literary gentleman in London, whose opportunities of gaining intelligence on such a subject are considered to be very great, that two copies at least of the edition so much sought for existed; *one* in the library of Augsburg, where, according to my opinion, the *editio princeps* was printed in 1531; and the *other* in the Mazarine library, a portion of the Imperial library of France. Through Messrs. Trübner and Co. of London, inquiry was immediately and directly made from the librarians of those institutions, and decisive answers were promptly given that neither of them possessed a copy of the Milan edition of 1522. The earliest edition of the Alciati emblems in the Augsburg library bore the date of 1531; the earliest in the Mazarine, 1540.

The inquiry has sufficient interest, if not importance, to justify the insertion of the two letters. M. COCHERIS, of the *Bibliothèque Mazarine*, writes thus:

"Palais de l'Institut, ce Mai 1870.

Mon cher Monsieur Trübner,

Je n'ai pas reçu la circulaire du rev. M. Green, sur les Emblèmes d'Alciat, et la Bibliothèque ne possède pas l'édition de 1522.

J'ai envoyé à Kensington la description de toutes nos éditions des emblèmes pour le catalogue des livres en les beaux arts.

Voici les éditions qui nous possédons. Si le rev. M. Green désire des détails, vous voudrez bien indiquer les dates des éditions dont il voudra la description.

1540 en 12° No. 22630A(Fr.)	1584 en 12° No. 22630C(Fr.)
1551 en 8° No. 22629(Lat.)	1589 en 8° No. 22630(Lat.)
1561 en 16° No. 22630B(Fr.)	1602 en 8° No. 22631.
1571 en 4° No. 11202(Lat.)	1621 en 4° No. 11203.

1583 en 8° No. 4108 n. f. lett. (Lat.)

Voici tout ce que j'ai trouvé. Je suis à votre disposition pour vous donner tous les renseignements désirables.

Agréez, mon cher Monsieur Trübner, l'assurance de mes meilleurs régards. H. Cocheris."

The letter from Herr Greiff, of the Augsburg library, is equally explicit:

"Augsburg, 12 Juni, 1870.

Herrn Trübner & Co. in London.

Auf Ihre Zuschrift vom 25 v. M. beschrie ich mich, Ihnen zu erwiedern, dass sich die von H. Green gesuchte Editio princeps von Alciati Emblemata 1522 auf hiesiger Bibliothek *nicht* befindet. Es würde im Interesse unserer Bibliothek gelegen gewesen sein, Ihnen vom dem Besitze dieses Schatzes Kentniss zu geben.

Ihre wiederholte Anfrage hat mich veranlasst samtl. Cataloge unserer namhaften Bibliothek gründlichst zu revidiren. Ein viele Stunden hiefür nöthiger Zeit aufwand blieb leider vergeblich.

Mit Hochachtung

Greiff, Bibliothekar."[23]

With the consciousness of much perseverance and pertinacity, we close, for the present at least, our *inquisition* after a copy of the supposed Milan edition of the Alciati emblems in 1522. From the narrative of our efforts it will scarcely be deemed unreasonable if we say,—success has

[23] "As to your letter of the 25th May, I regret to reply to you that the *editio princeps* of Alciati's emblems of 1522, sought for by rev. H. Green, is not found in the library of this place. It would have added to the interest of our library to give you information of the possession of this treasure.

"Your repeated inquiry has induced me thoroughly to review the collected catalogues of our well-known library. Many an hour of needed time bestowed upon this remained, alas! fruitless. With high esteem."

not been attained, probably because success was impossible. The Milan collection of 1522 does not exist as a printed book; and those who have maintained that it did, have doubtless misinterpreted the authorities on which they relied, namely, Freytag in 1755, Mazzuchelli in 1753, Clement in 1750, and Goujet in 1740–1745.

We rely on authority quite equal to theirs for diligence in research, and for accuracy of statement; it is on the celebrated Memoirs[24] by John Peter Niceron, from which a quotation has already been made; he says with great decision: "It was *Peutinger* who for the first time published the Alciati emblems, which this learned man had addressed to him for that purpose; and this edition was made at Augsbourg in 1531 in 8vo. Alciati, in the dedication which he made to him, gives him the rank of poet;[25] there is not however any poetry of his fashion which shows that he merited it."

A Milan collection of the Alciati emblems of 1522 is a fact in history; but until an authentic, or rather, genuine printed copy of that date be produced, a Milan edition 1522 is at best one of the myths of literature. While residing in Milan between the years 1521 and 1529, in which year he took up his abode in Bourges, whatever Alciati may have done in the composition of his emblems, he did not cause them to be printed or published for general circulation. The circumstances of the case lead to this conviction, unless the only satisfactory evidence be offered, — the printed edition itself, Mediolani 1522.

[24] *Memoires des Hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*, in 43 vols., 12mo, 1727–1745. The exact words in vol. xiii. p. 340, are these, the date being 1730: "Ce fut *Peutinger* qui publia pour la première fois les Emblèmes d'*Alciat;* que ce Sçavant lui avoit adressées pour cela; & cette edition se fit à Augsbourg en 1531, en 8. *Alciat*, dans la dedicace qu'il lui en fit, lui donne la qualité de Poëte; on n'a cependant aucune Poësie de sa façon, qui puisse faire connaître s'il la meritoit."

[25] In the words, "*Ipse dabo uati chartacea munera uates.*"

2. VIRI CLA | RISSIMI D. AN- | dreę Alciati Iuris- | conſultiſs. | Mediol. ad de Chonra- | dum Peutingerū Augu- | ſtanum, Iuriſconſul- | tum Emblema- | tum liber. | M.D.XXXI.

The title is within a richly ornamented border chiefly of birds.

Colophon: "EXCVSVM AVGVSTAE VIN | *delicorum, per Heynricum Steyne-* | *rum die* 28. *Februarij,* | *Anno* M.D. | XXXI."

Collation copy: Mr. *Corser's,* obtained at sir Francis Freeling's sale, to whom it was given by Dr. Dibdin. *Other copies:* Augsburg, Bâle, Copenhagen R., Edinburgh (?), Munich Pub., Munich U., *G. S. Cautley,* and *J. Crossley.* *Named* by Brunet, Niceron, Goujet and Delandine.

8vo VOL., 5.63 Eng. *inches* × 3.3; *full page* of letterpress, 4.52 to 4.72 × 2.48; *woodcuts* about 1.4 × 2.36; or 2.36 × 2.28.

Register: A–E in 8s, F in 4=44 leaves, or 88 pages unnumbered; last leaf blank.

Contents: A, title with border; A *v* "Candido Lectori S. P.;" A 2 "Clarissimi Viri D. Andreae Alciati in libellum Emblematum præfatio ad D. Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum," in 10 elegiac lines of Latin verse; A 2–F 3 Emblematum liber; F 3 *v* "Errata" and "Colophon."

The emblems are 104, with as many mottoes and sets of verses. As shown at p. 12 of Alciati's *Life,* with the exception of the emblems usually numbered x, xlii, cviii and clxi, there is reason for supposing this Augsburg set of emblems to be identical with those of Milan 1522. They are all contained in Wechel's editions 1534–1544.

There are 97 devices or woodcuts, of a simple kind, very little filled up; to 27 of these there are side-borders. The same blocks will be found to be used in the other editions by Steyner. On E 3 *v,* to the motto CAPTIVVS OB GVLAM, the mouse is represented as caught by a trap, and not by an oyster, as in all editions except those of Steyner. The Latin text requires an oyster for the trap, "*Ostrea mus summis uidit hiulca labris.*" Probably at Augsburg nothing was known of oysters catching mice.

Most of the arguments have already been stated in considering the Milan collection of emblems 1522, pp. 106-115, which show that collection not to have been a book then

printed; and by inference this volume by Steyner of Augsburg was the real FIRST EDITION. A very brief recapitulation will now be sufficient. Niceron affirms very positively: "It was Peutinger who for the first time published the Alciati emblems." Goujet's language has its most natural interpretation on the same idea; and Delandine declares: "Peutinger published the first edition at Augsburg in 1531."

From Wechel's statements in the preface to the more correct, far better illustrated and enlarged Paris edition of Alciati's emblems issued in 1534, it is evident that the emblem-work which Alciati wished to destroy, but could not, had been printed by Germans; and that it was to the Augsburg editions of 1531, 1532 and 1533, that Wechel really referred. An Augsburg edition, therefore, that of February 28th 1531, was the first published to the world.

It is remarkable that Wechel does not once mention, or even allude to, a Milan edition. This he would have done had it been the object of his severe criticism. The work he speaks of was "rashly struck off by others;" this might have taken place in Augsburg, a distant city, but was not possible in Milan, where Alciati himself was living at the time, in 1522, and for some years afterward. Had such an edition been attempted he must have become cognisant of it, and could easily have prevented it.

In reply to a question lately addressed to signor P. Antonio Ceriani, the Ambrosian librarian of Milan, he wrote, April 19th 1870, to Dr. Crestadoro, of Manchester:

"I have no knowledge of any Milanese edition of Alciati's works containing the emblems. Very probably *Rerum Patriæ* is the only work published by Alciati at Milan. Whether the emblems have been published separately in Milan, your friend knows better than I do."

Mr. Corser's note in the sale-list of his library, March 1869, p. 31, clearly states his opinion:

"Brunet has mentioned an edition printed at Milan in 1522,

but no copy of it has been seen or is known to exist, although inquiries have been made both at home and abroad, and the date is supposed to have been a mistake. Until, therefore, its existence is proved, the present one, of 1531, may be considered the *first*."

"So," as we have said elsewhere,[26] "we maintain that the first collection of the emblems took place at Milan about 1522, but the first printing was at Augsburg in February 1531; and to this Augsburg edition, in all probability, pertains the right to be named the EDITIO PRINCEPS of these emblems."

The woodcuts are attributed to Henry Steyner and Hans Schäufelein,[27] but the proof of this is found in the next Augsburg edition. Steyner appears to have been only the printer; Schäufelein, born at Nuremburg in 1483, and dying at Nördlingen in 1539, was a scholar of Albert Durer, and obtained celebrity both as a painter and an engraver. The workmanship of these emblem-woodcuts is much inferior to what he was known to have produced.[28]

Conrad Peutinger, to whom Alciati himself expressly dedicated his emblems (see Alciati's *Life*, pp. 13, 14), is worthy of notice, not simply as his trusted friend, but as a scholar and a statesman of highest esteem. He was born at Augsburg in 1465, and died in 1547, only three years before Alciati. Previous to the emblematist's birth he was studying law in Padua, and in other Italian centres of learning. On his return home he was appointed secretary to his native city, and afterwards was employed in several European courts as an able negociator. In 1519 he was sent to Bruges to felicitate Charles V. on being elected to

[26] In the Holbein society's volume p. 13, of *The four fountains of the Emblems of Alciat*, Manchester 1870.

[27] See *Universal Catalogue of Books on Art*, 1870, vol. i. p. 7.; also the *Life of Alciati*, p. 68.

[28] See Kugler's *Geschichte der Malerei* 1847, vol. ii. p. 239; also Nagler's *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, and Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters*, &c., 1849, p. 705.

the imperial dignity; and in 1521 he took part in the diet of Worms, when Luther was declared to be an enemy of the holy Roman empire.

His literary labours were highly regarded. His *Romanæ vetustatis fragmenta*, printed at Augsburg in 1505, was reprinted at Mayence in 1520, and afterwards as *Inscriptiones antiquæ* of his native city. It was through him that an edition of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica* was published by Froben in 1518. There had come to him as a legacy a most rare map, *Tabula Itineraria* of the Roman empire, of about the reign of Alexander Severus, A.D. 226, and this map he began to prepare for publication but was not able to finish it. After the lapse of two centuries, however, the *Peutingeriana Tabula Itineraria* was edited by De Schayb of Vienna 1753, and again by Manert of Leipzig 1824. This brief notice will show how much of congeniality, in spite of difference of age, must have existed between Peutinger and Alciati.

3. VIRI CLA | RISSIMI D. AN- | dreę Alciati Iuris- | conſultiſs. | Mediola. ad D. Chonra- | dum Peu- | tingerū Augu- | ſtanum, Iuriſconſul- | tum Em- | blema- | tum liber. | M.D.XXXI.

The title is within the same border as in the edition February 28th 1531.

Colophon: "EXCVSVM AVGVSTAE VIN | *delicorum, per Heynricum Steyne-* | *rum die 6. Aprilis,* | *Anno* M.D. | XXXI."

Below this colophon is a finely executed device of a woman standing on what may be named a sea-elephant and holding erect a mast and sail with the right hand, in the left she holds a shield with a monogram upon it.

Collation copy: From sir *William Stirling-Maxwell's* library at Keir. *Other copies:* Bodleian, British Museum, Copenhagen R., Munich Pub., Soleure, Vienna Cæs. and I. *Named* in Bernd's list.

8vo Vol., 5.74 *in.* × 3.74; *full pages and devices* of the same measurement with the edition February 28th 1531.

Register: A–E in 8s, F in 3=43 leaves or 86 pages, unnumbered.

Contents: The same as in edition February 28th 1531, except that the "Errata" have been corrected, and on leaf F 3 *v*, in their place is printed the engraver's device as described above.

The emblems and devices are the same, 104 and 97, but it is remarkable that the woodcut on leaf A 5 to the motto "Non vvlganda consilia" has in the Centaur's banner the letters arranged P S Q R instead of S P Q R.

Though printed in the same year, 1531, with the edition dated 28th February, this 6th April edition is certainly a *second* edition, *not* simply a *portion* of the first with a new colophon. The ornamental capital H on A *v* is not the same, the errata have been corrected, the modes of printing several of the mottoes differ, and out of twenty-eight devices with borders only four in this edition have exactly the same borders with those of the edition February 28th.

On the shield of the figure in the colophon there is an important monogram HS It identifies this design at least as the work of Hans Schäufelein the younger, and renders the conjecture very strong that it was his workmanship which was engaged on the various devices and borders of the Augsburg editions, poor though they be.

The edition of April 6th is not named by Brunet; and J. G. Th. Graesse does not specify any distinction of editions in 1531; but Bernd's list[29] of the Latin editions of Alciati notices this edition, "April 6, 1531."

Some copies are met with that have been coloured at an early date.

4. ["Alciat. Steyner . . . Aug. Vind. 12°, 1532."]

Authority: Allgemeine Schriftenkunde der gesammten Wappenwissenschaft, &c., von Christian Sam. Theodr. Bernd. Ester theil, p. 79. Bonn 1830.

[29] See his *Allgemeine Schriften*, &c. Bonn 1830.

5. ["ALCIAT. Steyner, . . Aug. Vind. 8°, 1533."]
Authority: Same as No. 4.

6. VIRI CLA | RISSIMI D. AN- | DREAE ALCIATI IVRIS- | *cōſultiſs. Mediol. ad D. Chonradū Peu-* | *tingerum Auguſtanum Iuriſconſul-* | *tum, Emblematum liber, iam* | *denuo emendatus &* | *recognitus.* | M.D.XXXIIII.

The same border is around the title-page as in editions February 28th and April 6th 1531.

Colophon: "EXCVSAM AVGVSTAE VIN | *delicorum per Henricum Steyner.* | *Die* 29, *Julii, An-* | *no* M.D. | XXXIIII."

Collation copy: From the Keir library in Scotland. *Other copies:* Berne, Bodleian, Königsberg, Munich Pub., and *H. Huth. Named* in Bernd's list.

8vo VOL., 5.8 × 23.93. *Full pages and devices* as in Nos. 2 and 3.

Register: A–E in 8s, F in 4=44 leaves or 88 pages, unnumbered; last leaf blank.

Contents: The same text with the edition of April 6th 1531, No. 3, but the device to the colophon on F 3 *v* is omitted.

The emblems, 104 in number, have the same mottoes, devices and Latin stanzas with the other Augsburg editions, but the mottoes are not printed in the same way, neither are the borders unchanged.

The devices, with some differences in the arrangement of the borders, are from the same blocks as the editions of 1531 and 1532. The device to the emblem on E 3 *v* has the mouse caught in a trap; and on A 5 the monogram has the letters restored to the right order S P Q R.

Brunet does not mention this edition, but it is in Bernd's list; and Graesse, vol. i. p. 62, records it: "Av. grav. en bois de H. Steyner et H Schäufelein."

The title professes that this edition has been "corrected anew and revised." Was the inducement that Wechel of Paris, with Alciati's express approval, was issuing, or had issued, a better edition of the emblems? The Augsburg

series of emblem-books ends with this edition of 1534. Peutinger doubtless would lend no further countenance to an edition that was under Alciati's ban.

7. ANDREAE | ALCIATI EMBLEMA- | TVM LIBELLVS. | (Printer's device, *One robin driving another from a tree*; the motto, "VNICVM ARBVSTVM NON ALIT DVOS ERYTHACOS.") PARISIIS, | *Excudebat Chriſtianus Wechelus*, | *ſub ſcuto Baſileienſi, in uico* | *Iacobæo. Anno* | M.D.XXXIIII.

Colophon: On p. 119 *v*, the same device and motto as on the title-page.

Collated copy: From the library of *Henry Yates Thompson*, esq., Thingwall, near Liverpool. *Other copies:* Bâle, Bodleian, British Museum, Douai, Hague R., and in May 1870, Strasbourg. A copy on vellum in the King's library, Paris, in 1822; see vol. iv. p. 320, No. 483. *Named* by Brunet and Bernd.

8vo VOL., 6.57 *in.* × 4.3; *full pages*, about 4.52 × 2.67; *devices*, 1.77 to 2.59 × 2.48.

Register: A–G in 8s, H in 4 = 60 leaves or 120 pages; numbered 1–119, the last page being blank.

Contents: p. i., title; pp. 2 and 3, "Reuerendo in Christo Patri D. Philiberto Baboo Angolismen, Antisti, Domino suo et patrono omnibus modis obseruando, Christianus Wechelus. S. D." "Lutetiæ in officina nostra typographica, Anno M.D.XXXIIII." p. 4, ten lines of Latin elegiac verse, "Clarissimi Viri D. Andreae Alciati in libellum emblematum Præfatio ad Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum;" pp. 5–119, "Andreae Alciati Emblematum Libellus."

The emblems, numbering 113, have each a title, a device, and a set of Latin stanzas of from 4 to 34 lines. The devices, including the title and colophon, are 115; they are neat and curious, and certainly superior to those in Steyner's editions. At p. 91 it may be observed that the mouse is represented, according to the text, as caught by an oyster and not by a trap. The stork too, at p. 9, contrary to the later editions, carries the parent stork on its back, in agreement with the lines:

"*Nec pia spem soboles fallit, sed fessa parentum*
Corpora fert humeris, præstat et ore cibos."

The same blocks were used for the editions of 1535, 1536, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1542 and 1544. Jollat is said to have designed and executed them, see Alciati's *Life*, p. 65.

Wechel, in the dedication to Philibert Baboo, boasts rather that Alciati had added emblems "not a few," — but the increase is only nine over Steyner's editions.[30] Graesse's *Trésor* says:

"This work in its time very much in vogue, and very often reprinted, has no more at this day any value: it is only the engravings on wood which cause the different editions to be sought for."

We have already mentioned, in Alciati's *Life*, p. 14, and *Catalogue*, p. 107, the reasons by which Wechel induced Alciati to review his emblems and put forth an improved edition; but of Wechel himself we have said but little. He began to practise the art of printing about 1520, and until his death in 1554 brought out many works in French, Latin and Greek, some in Hebrew, and a few in German.[31] Erasmus esteemed him, and by Gesner he was accounted worthy of being numbered among the most renowned typographers of his age. There is a foolish tale respecting him, that he was reduced to poverty as a punishment for publishing a book against the church; but his name on various works, as on the Greek *Tablet of Cebes*, A.D. 1552, testifies that he was carrying on his business close up to the time of his death.

Philibert Baboo, to whom Wechel's series of editions of the Alciati emblems is dedicated, was bishop of Angoulême, and famed for his patronage of literature. "Antistum decus," *Glory of the episcopate*, he is termed, and is assured

[30] So acknowledged by Brunet, vol. i. col. 147.

[31] Dibdin's *Decameron*, vol. ii. pp. 66–68, says: "Few printers were more celebrated throughout Europe than the WECHELS, whose flying horse, or *Pegasus*, first commenced his career at Paris about the year 1534, and afterwards became more distinguished at Frankfort and Hanover." In a long note Dibdin relates many things respecting the family of the Wechels.

that nothing could issue from Alciati's study which by himself would not be stored up among his precious things, and as in some more sacred treasury.[32]

The superiority of Wechel's editions must be confessed; those of 1534 and 1535 are excellent specimens of the typography of the day; and the devices compare with advantage not only with those of Steyner in 1531, but with those in the Aldine edition of 1546.

The devices, as we have stated at p. 65, have been attributed by Francis Douce[33] to the French artist Jollat, who executed some good work in 1532.

Douce affirms that Jollat's mark is on some of the devices of Wechel's edition 1536. The reference given is to Sig. L 4 *b* of Douce's copy, or to F *v*, p. 82, of the Paris edition 1534. On following up this reference, and indeed pursuing the search through all the emblem-editions issued by Wechel, I find no trace of Jollat's mark or monogram. From the kind of work on which Jollat was employed at the time there is however no improbability whatever in assigning to him the drawing and the engraving of the devices in Wechel's series of the Alciati emblems.

The device on the title-page, and the motto, *one tree does not maintain two robins*, might be interpreted to intimate a determined opposition between the two printers, Wechel of Paris and Steyner of Augsburg; if it were so the obnoxious device was not of long continuance, but in the following year was supplanted by the Pegasus, the Cornucopiæ and the Mercury's wand.

8. ANDREAE | ALCIATI EMBLEMA- | TVM LIBELLVS | (Wechel's device, *The flying horse, the*

[32] See Wechel's *Dedication* to Philibert Baboo.

[33] See a *manuscript note* in Douce's copy of Wechel's 1536 edition in the Bodleian library, A 132.

cornucopiæ and Mercury's wand.) PARISIIS, | *Ex officina Chriſtiani Wecheli,* | *ſub ſcuto Baſilienſi, in uico* | *Iacobæo. Anno* | M.D.XXXV.

Colophon: On p. 119*v* the same device repeated.

Collation copy: From the Keir library. *Other copies:* Berlin I., Bodleian, Dresden R., L'Escurial, Munich Pub., Munich U., and *Cautley.* *Named* by Brunet, Bernd and Watt.

8vo VOL., 6.29 *in.* × 4.33; *full pages* and *devices* as in edition No. 7, 1534.

Register: A–G in 8s, H in 4=60 leaves or 120 pages; numbered 1–119, and 119*v* the colophon; total 120.

Contents: Excepting in the printer's device and an ornamental E, Wechel's 1534 and 1535 editions, Nos. 7 and 8, are exactly alike. The emblems number 113, and the devices 115 including title-page and colophon. The woodcuts are from the blocks of 1534.

N.B. On a fly leaf of the *collation copy* is inserted a miniature portrait of Alciati.

This Paris edition of 1535 is the first mentioned in Watt's *Biblioth. Brit.;* and the *Retrospective Review*, vol. ix., 1824, p. 125, ignoring an earlier edition, says:

"Alciati at his leisure hours composed his book of Emblems, the first edition of which was published in 1535, and to him many subsequent writers of Emblems have been indebted, particularly Wither, who has adopted a great many of his designs."

9. ANDREAE | ALCIATI EMBLEMA- | TVM LIBEL- | LVS | (Wechel's device, *The flying horse*, &c.) PARISIIS, | *Ex officina Chriſtiani Wecheli* | *ſub ſcuto Baſilienſi.* | M.D.XXXVI.

Colophon: The same device as on the title-page.

Collation copy: From the library of the rev. *Thomas Corser*, rectory, Stand, near Manchester. *Other copies:* None known.

8vo VOL., 6.29 *in.* × 4.33; *full pages and devices*, as in Paris edition No. 7 and 8.

Register: A–G in 8s, H in 4=60 leaves or 120 pages; unnumbered both in leaves and pages.

Contents: Excepting in not having the pages numbered this Latin edition 1536 is identical with the Latin edition 1535, No. 8. The emblems are 113; the devices are fresh but rather rough in the execution.

Mr. Corser had another volume of the Alciati emblems with the same title-page, and the register and contents the same as the above, but the pages were regularly numbered 1–119. Should it be regarded as a separate edition, making two editions of the Latin text for the year 1536, as there were undoubtedly two for the year 1531? This volume however has not been counted as a distinct edition.

10. LIVRET | des Emblemes/de maistre An-|dre | Alciat/mis en rime francoyse/ | et presente a monseigneur | Ladmiral de | France. | (Wechel's device, *Pegasus*, &c.) On les vend a Paris/en la maison de | Chrestien Wechel/demeurant en la rue | sainct Jaques/a lescu de Basle. | M.D.XXXIJ.

Colophon: The same device as on the title-page.

Collation copy: From the Thingwall library, near Liverpool. *Other copies:* Bodleian, British Museum, Douai, the Hague R., Keir in Scotland (duplicates), Mr. *H. Huth.* *Named* by Brunet, Graesse, Van de Helle, Douce, Goujet, &c.

8vo Vol., 6.29 *in.* × 4.05; *full pages* about 4.52 × 2.55; *device plates* as in the other editions by Wechel, No. 7, 8 and 9.

Register: A–P in 8s, Q in 4 = 124 leaves or 248 pages, unnumbered; the two pages last but one are blank, the last page has the colophon.

Contents: Sig. A, the title; A *v* and Aii, dedication as in editions 1534, 1535 and 1536; Aii *v*–Aiiii, dedication, "A treshault et puissant seigneur | Monseigneur messire Philippe Chabot | cheualier de lordre | Conte de Burancoys et Charny. Baron Daspremõt | de Paigny | et de Myrebeau | seigneur de Bryon | de Beaumont et de Fonteine Francoyse. Admiral de France | Bretaigne et Guyẽne. Gouuerneur et lieutenãt general pour le Roy en Burgõgne | aussi liuetenãt general pour monseigneur le Daulphin | au gouuernemẽt de Normãdie. Jehã le feure secretaire de monseigneur reuerẽdissime Cardinal de Giury | Dit

humble salut." In A 5, "Lacteur des translations." A 5 *v.* "Clarissimi Viri D. Andreae Alciati in libellum Emblematum Præfatio, ad D. Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum." A 6, "La préface au livret des bigarreures du luysant homme Andre Alciat faicte a maistre Conrad Peutingre de Auspurg." A 6 *v*–Qiii, "And. Alc. Emblem. Lib." alternately with "Liuret des Emblèmes de Andre Alciat." Qiii *v* and Qiiii, blank. Qiiii *v*, colophon.

The Latin mottoes, the devices, and the Latin stanzas in *italic* letters, are on one page to the number of 113; the French translation in Gothic letters, on the other, except on Sig. Ki and ij, Lv and vi, Qi, ii and iii. The same blocks have been used as in Wechel's Latin edition of 1534, No. 7.

Jehan le Fevre's translation is reprinted in Wechel's other French editions; in one without a date in 1540 with slight alterations, in 1542 and in 1562 with some additions. It is found also in the editions numbered 33, 46, 56, 61, 67.

Brunet, vol. i. col. 148, is in error when he says "this version is not complete." At the time it was made it contained all the Alciati emblems that had hitherto been published, namely, the 113 from Wechel's editions of 1534-1536. With similar inaccuracy Graesse rather oddly remarks: "This edition, reimprinted in Paris 1540 and 1542 in 8vo, contains only 115 emblems, while that of 1548 contains more than 200." How could it contain more previous to the issue of the second book of the emblems at Venice in 1546? M. Van de Helle[33] says of a copy: "Bel exemplaire, Nombreuses figures sur bois. On y a joint un ancien portrait d'Alciat." The portrait would be an accidental addition.

A copy of this edition on vellum was in the MacCarthy library, and by purchase passed into the possession of sir Francis Freeling. Dibdin's *Decameron*, vol. iii. p. 175, thus notices it:

> "The volume is a small octavo, but sound and fair, and for the love I bear to the memory of the Wechels, I congratulate Mr. Freeling on this membranaceous acquisition."

In his copy, A 132, now in the Bodleian library, Francis Douce has written a summary of interesting particulars:

[33] *Catalogue*, Paris 1868, p. 172, No. 1609.

"This is the first French edition of Alciat's Emblems. The earliest Latin edition is that of Milan 1522. See Clement's *Cat. des livres rares*, 139; Los Rios, No. 348; Freytag *Appar. lit.* iii. 461."

"But Abbé Goujet, who is the authority used by Clement, only states that Alciat wrote his emblems at Milan in 1522. See his *Biblioth.* tom. vii. 77, and viii. 402. The authors of the *Diction. hist.* say that these emblems were originally published at Augsburg, 1531, 8vo. See some account of Jean le Fevre, the French translator in Savigny, i. 494."

"There are two other translations, the first by Barth. Aneau, the other by Claude Mignault. Goujet, vii. 78, and Savigny, iii. 64."

"The cuts are by Jollat. See his mark at Sig. L 4*b*."[34]

The translator, John de Fevre, as we have said elsewhere,[35] was born at Dijon in 1493. By profession he was an ecclesiastic and canon of the cathedral of Langres, near the source of the Marne, and was secretary to cardinal de Givry. He died in 1563, and was regarded as a learned theologian and an able mechanician. Those who may compare the French rhymes with the Latin text will confirm the abbé Goujet's opinion, that he has given an imitation rather than a translation. The abbé's remarks, in some unimportant particulars compressed, are not readily accessible, and are therefore subjoined :[36]

"John le Fevre made his translation from Wechel's edition which contains only one hundred and fifteen emblems.[37] He published it in 1536 under the title of *Livret des Emblèmes*, and dedicated it to Philip Chabot, the admiral of France. I know not why the late abbé Papillon cites this edition as *les Entretiens*[38]

[34] This mark I am unable to discover.

[35] See the *Four Fountains of Alciat*, 4to, 1870, p. 21.

[36] See Goujet's *Bibliothèque Françoise*, ed. Paris 1744, vol. vii. pp. 78, 79.

[37] Wechel's editions of 1534-36, Nos. 7–9, contained 113 emblems; Le Fevre's translation 1536 has the same number; in 1542 two more were added, so that this is the edition No. 18 to which Goujet refers.

[38] Had the abbé Goujet examined Le Fevre's translation of the Latin preface to Peutinger, he would at once have seen the origin of Papillon's phrase "*les Entretiens*;" conversations or amusing tales. Alciati's Latin "*Emblematum*" is rendered into the French "*des bigarreures*," medleys or miscellanies, which Papillon has expressed by the politer word "*Entretiens*." It is therefore no fault in the printing.

de Maistre André Alciat. It is without doubt the fault of the printer. Le Fevre has not constrained himself to make an exact translation. He renders the thought of each emblem, but he enlarges or abridges it just as he pleases. Alciati did not always limit himself to the same number of verses. His translator on the contrary commonly renders each emblem by eight lines of eight syllables. He deviates from this rule only in the translation of about ten emblems, where the facility which he had of rhyming very badly and of speaking a language almost barbarous, has carried him altogether beyond the boundaries which elsewhere he had presented to himself. Judge of his versification and of his expression by these lines, which are perhaps the least bad in the whole book, and which render the sense of ten Latin lines in which Alciati explains the emblem of the Council of a good Prince."

The exact text of Le Fevre's translation, ed. 1536, fol. i. (emb. cxliii):

Le parlement du bon prince.
Les gens sans mains qui sont assis |
Sont ceulx dont iustice est pourueue:
Ilz soient ayans le sens rassis:
En bon chose nest beulx receue.
Leur prince priue de sa beue |
Ne peult aperceuoir personne:
Et iuge par sentence deue |
Selon que en soreille on luy sonne.

Philip Chabot, to whom Le Fevre's translation is dedicated, was of illustrious birth, and is well known in the history of Francis I. and of his times as the admiral de Brion. He was brought up at the castle of Amboise, about 12 miles from Tours, with Francis I., Anne de Montmorency, Montchenu, and Robert de la Marche. On the accession of Francis in 1515, he was admitted to his inmost counsels. In 1535 he had command of the war against the duke of Savoy. His death occurred June 1st 1543. Through his daughters many great families of France were allied to him.

11. ["Andreae Alciati. Emblematum Libellus. 8°. 1538."]

Authority: Bernd's *List.* "Alciat, Wechel, Paris 8° 1538." See *Allg. Schriftenkunde der ges. Wappenwissenschaft,* &c., vol. i. p. 79.

12. ["LIVRET des emblèmes, mis en rime franç. Paris, Wechel 1539."] 8vo.

Authority: See Brunet, vol. i. col. 148. "Un exempl. de l'édition, de Paris, Wechel 1539, in 8, *mar. bl.* 30 fr. Veinant." This edition is not named in Graesse's *Trésor*, vol. i. p. 62.

13. ["LIVRET des Emblèmes de maiſtre A. A. Mis en rime Françoyſe (by Jehan Le Fevre). Paris 1540."] 8vo.

Authority: South Kensington *Universal Catalogue of Books on Art*, p. 15; after the title of *Livret*, &c., 1536, "Also, 8vo, Paris, 1540. B. M."

14. ["ALCIATI Andreae, Emblematum libellus. Pariſiis ex officina Chriſtiani Wecheli 1540, fig. en 12."]

Authority: The title is so printed in count Cicognara's *Catalogo ragionato dei Libri d'Arte e d'Antichita*, Pisa, 2 vols. 1821; vol. i. p. 313. The count adds: "Libretto elegante per gli intagli in ligno: forse la prima edizione Latina: sono le stampe 115, ma non giungono al merito di quelle che servirono posteriormente per le edizione di Lione, e sono del carattere dell' antica scuola."

Our catalogue shows the count's conjecture to be unfounded that "perhaps this is the first Latin edition."

Brunet, vol. i. p. 147, and Graesse, vol. i. p. 62, both refer to this 1540 edition.

15. Les Emblemes | de Maiſtre Andre Alciat | mis en rime Fran | coyſe. | (Device,[40] *An angel flying between the sun and the earth;* the mottoes, "NE HAVLT | MEDIOCREMENT," and "NE BAS.") Auec priuilege. (1540.)

[40] Brunet, Paris 1864, vol. v. col. 1708, places this printer's device among "*Marques qui nous sont inconnues;*" but in vol. ii. col. 299, and in vol. iii. col. 1486, examples are given of its use.

Collation copy: From the Thingwall library. *Other copy:* In the Keir library.

The place, the printer and the date are wanting.

8vo Vol., 5.98 *in.* × 3.93; *full page*, 5.2 × 2.8; *devices* there are none.

Register: a–f in 8s = 48 leaves or 96 pages, unnumbered.

Contents: On Sig. A i–iii, dedication in French, the same as in the French translation, Paris 1536; also, "Lacteur des translations," and "La preface au livret des bigarreures," &c. A iiii *v*–f viii, "Les Emblèmes," Latin and French, with 113 mottoes.

The Latin emblems and the French translations of them are *nude*. Both in number and in order they agree with the French edition by Wechel, Paris 1536, No. 10. The only device is on the title-page.

If this edition had been one of Wechel's it would have had upon it his device and name.

The translation is by Le Fevre, who is thus mentioned in the dedication: "Jehan le feure, Secretaire de monseigneur reuerendissime Cardinal de Giury." No work we have consulted mentions this edition, not even Brunet nor Graesse.

The same printer's device and mottoes however are set forth by Brunet, vol. iii. col. 1486, and assigned to an edition of Martial's "*Droictz nouveaux publiez de par messieurs les senateurs du temple de Cupido;*" and he says: "The date of 1540, which is read at the end of the 52nd decree, and of the decree against masques, may perhaps be that of the impression." Brunet too, in vol. ii. col. 299, gives another copy of the same unknown printer's device, which was attached to two editions of Corrozet's *Hecatongraphie;* and these editions omitted, as does our edition, No. 15 of Alciati's emblems, all the woodcuts or devices: they bear the date 1540 on "the privilege." We have ventured therefore to assign the same date to this very rare edition of the emblems of Alciati. Paris probably was the place of printing for this No. 15 of Alciati's emblems; for there Corrozet's *Hecatongraphie* was sold "*par Denys Ianot* 1540," and there about the same time, 1541, appeared other editions of Martial's *Droictz nouveaux.*

16. ["Los Emblemas de *Alciato*. 4to, 1540."]

Authority: Nic. Antonio's *Biblioth. Hispana nova*, tom. i. p. 168, records: "BERNARDINUS DAZA, Pincianus, dedit Hispaniè, Los Emblemas de Alciato. 1540. 4."

In his *Tresor*, however, Graesse observes, that "the edition of 1540, cited by Antonio, Bibl. Hisp. N., appears to be apocryphal." On the other hand, the Blandford catalogue cites "Los Emblemas de Alciato en Lyon, 8vo, 1542;" it is not then very improbable that there was an edition of two years earlier date, 1540.

This point is spoken to with some positiveness, though not absolutely decided by Mazzuchelli, vol. i. p. 368, when referring to the translations of Alciati's emblems into Spanish; he says: "The one translation is by Bernardino Daza, printed in 1540 in 4to, not different from that referred to by Maittaire without the name of the translator, made *à Lyon* por Guglielmo Rovilio 1548, 8vo. The other is by Diego Lopes, who has added to it the interpretation, with this title: *Emblemas de Alciato con la explication del Autor. Naxora por Mongas ton* 1615, in 4to. And anew, *Valentia* 1655, in 4to."

There may have been an edition in Spanish by Daza in 1540, but it is a mistake to suppose it could have been as full and complete as Rovilio's edition of 1548; for in 1540 and until 1546 the utmost number of Alciati's emblems did not exceed 115.

But, though on the foregoing authority it be admitted as a fact that Daza's *quarto* edition was published in 1540, an *octavo* edition of the same date, testified to in R. Weigel's *Catalog* 1857, No. 21178, bears, with the very announcement of it, a sufficient refutation. The entry is:

"Los Emblemas de Alciato. Traducidos en rhimas Españolas (por Bernardino Daza Pinciano) Añadidos de figuras y de nueuos Emblemas en la tercera parte de la obra. Lyon por G. Rovillio 1540. Mit vielen Holzschnitten und jede Seite mit Passe-partout, 8°;" *i.e. with many woodcuts and each page with a border round it.*

This title is almost identical with that of the edition 1549, except in omitting "*Dirigidos al Illustre S. Iuā Vazquez Molina*," and in contracting "GVILIELMO" into G, and is suggestive of the thought that the copy which Weigel had before him was in reality the Lyons Spanish edition of 1549. Previous to the incorporation of the 87 additional emblems from

the Venice edition of 1546 with the 115 emblems before issued by Wechel, there did not exist any collection of Alciati's emblems from which a "tercera parte de la obra," *a third part of the work*, could have been formed. Sebastian Gryphius of Lyons, in 1548, was one of the very first to print 201 emblems, including "the trees." His arrangement was, 1° emblems, 140; 2° trees, 14; and 3° other emblems, 47; without however making any formal division. B. Daza's Spanish edition, Lyons 1549, follows the same arrangement of 1° emblems, 2° trees, and 3° emblems, but divides them into *two* books; book i. having 115 emblems; book ii. 95 emblems, of which 14 are trees; total, 210. This Daza edition 1549, like the one Weigel speaks of, uses in the title the phrase "la tercera parte," though there are but *two* books. The fact no doubt is, that in some copy of Daza's translation which Weigel saw, the 9 in 1549 had lost its tail, or been illegibly printed, and looked like a cipher; and without very close examination Weigel, having copied the title almost entire, gave the optical-delusion date 1540, instead of the true date 1549.

Besides, "Le Priuilege du Roy," granted to Roville and Bonhomme with respect to the emblems of Alciati in the Spanish tongue, was dated "à Mascon le ix. d'Aoust M.D.XLVIII." and declares that thus they had caused the emblems of Alciati to be "newly translated from Latin into the Spanish tongue . . . . together with a great quantity of figures which they have anew invented, prepared and appropriated." Now this *newness* of the translation and *newness* of the devices are inconsistent with the early date of 1540, which Weigel affixes to the work numbered 21178 in his *Catalog* of 1857.

By a similar mistake of 1549 for 1540 the Royal National library of Lisbon made, to our circular of April 1870, the following return under the head of Alciati's emblem-books not comprised in our list:

"Vol. 8°. Los Emblemas — Bonhomme — Lyon 1540. Pages 264."

The pages of the Lisbon copy, allowing for *one* blank leaf, exactly agree with those of the Keir copy, Lyons 1549.

17. LES EMBLE- | MES DE MAISTRE | ANDRE ALCIAT, MIS EN | RIME FRANCOYSE, ET PVIS | nagueres reimprime auec | curieuſe correction. | (Wechel's *flying horse*, &c.) On les vend a Paris en la maiſon de Chreſtien | Wechel demeurant a leſcu de Baſle, en la rue | ſainct Iaques, & a lenſeigne du Cheual vo | lant, en la rue ſainct Iehan de | Beauuays. M.D.XL.

Colophon: The *flying horse*, &c., from a smaller block.

Collation copy: From the Thingwall library. *Other copies:* At Berlin I., the Escurial, Keir, Mazarine, (Paris,) Munich Pub., Salzburg, and *Cautley*. *Named* by Brunet, Delandine and Graesse.

8vo VOL., 6.7 *in.* × 4.3; *full pages*, about 4.7 × 2.6; *devices*, 1.7 to 3.03 × 2.36.

Register: A–P in 8s, Q in 4 = 124 leaves or 248 pages; numbered 1–245; final 2 pp. blank, and 1 p. colophon = 248 pages.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, blank; pp. 3–7, "A tres havlt et pvissant Seigneur Monseigneur messire Philippe Chabot," &c.; p. 8, "L'acteur des translations;" p. 9, blank; pp. 10, 11, "Præfatio," and "La preface au liuret des bigarreures du luysant homme Andre Alciat," &c.; pp. 12–245, "And. Alc. Emblem. Lib," and "Liuret des Emblemes de Andre Alciat;" (pp. 246–247), blank; (248), colophon.

The emblems number 113: the devices the same. On one page are the Latin motto, the device and Latin text; on the next page the French translations,—the Latin in *italic* letters, the French in roman type. The devices are from the same blocks as Wechel's edition 1535.

Mr. Cautley's copy appears to be made up by combining 64 pages from the **black letter** edition of 1536 with 184 pages from this 1540 edition.

There are some small corrections made in the French version of 1536. In saying that there are "one hundred

and fourteen devices," Delandine[41] will have included the printer's device.

18. LES EMBLE- | MES DE MAISTRE AN- | *dre Alciat, puis nagueres augmentez* | *par le dict Alciat, & mis in rime* | *francoiſe, auec curieuſe* | *correction.* | (Wechel's *flying horse*, &c.) *On les uend a Paris, en la maiſon de* | *Chreſtien Wechel, demeurant en la rue* | *ſainct Iacques, a leſcu de Baſle: & en* | *la rue Sainct Iehan de Beauuais, au* | *cheual uolant. L'an* M.D.XLII.

Colophon: FINIS.

Collation copy: From the Keir library. *Other copies:* Bodleian, Lucca, Munich Pub., Munich U., Salzburg (monastery of S. Peter), Stuttgart R., Thingwall, Toulouse, and *duc. d'Aumale.* *Named* by Brunet, Graesse, and Douce.

8vo VOL., 6.3 *in.* × 3.7; *full pages*, 4.88 × 2.75; *devices*, 1.77 to 2.95 × 2.36.

Register: A–Q in 8s = 128 leaves or 256 pages; numbered 2–249; (printed 149); indices, 7 pages, unnumbered; total, 256 pages.

Contents: p. 1, title; pp. 3–8, dedication as in edition 1540, No. 17; p. 9, "L'acteur des translations;" p. 10, "Præfatio;" p. 11, "Preface;" pp. 12–249, "And. Alc. Emblem. Lib.," "Les Emblèmes de Andr. Alciat." At the end on seven pages, "Emblematum omnium Index," and "Table des Emblèmes." Colophon, "FINIS."

The emblems, Latin and French alternately, are numbered i-cxv. Two emblems have been added, namely cxiv, "Vino prudentiam augeri," "*Le uin augmente la sagesse*," and cxv, "Antiquissima quæque commentitia," *Les deuis de l'ancien temps.*

The devices appear to be from the blocks of the editions 1540 and 1536; of course excepting those for emblems 114 and 115, which are new.

The text of this edition varies a little from edition 1540, as at p. 12, *Exiliens* for *Exiliēs*, and p. 13, "excusson" for "escusson," &c.

[41] Delandine's *Bib. de Lyon*, vol. ii. p. 180, No. 6386.

A note by Douce, A 90, says:

"This edition differs from that of 1536. 1. In a more copious title-page. 2. In having a dedication to Chabot only. 3. In having two additional Emblems at the end."

19. CLARISSIMI | VIRI D. ANDREAE AL- | *ciati Emblematum libellus, uigilanter* | *recognitus, & ab ipſo iam au-* | *thore locupletatus.* (Wechel's device, *The flying horse.*) PARISIIS. | *Apud Chriſtianum Wechelum ſub ſcuto,* | *Baſilienſi, in uico Iacobeo: & ſub* | *Pegaſo, in uico Bellouacenſi.* | M.D.XLII.

Colophon: FINIS. Douce's copy, A 103, on another leaf has the *Pegasus* &c. also.

Collation copy: From Mr. *Corser's* library. *Other copies:* Bodleian, Darmstadt D., Munich Pub., *duc d'Aumale,* and Dr. *Conrad Leemans.* *Named* by Douce.

8vo VOL., 6.4 *in.* × 4.1; *full pages* and *devices,* see No. 7, edition 1534.

Register: A–H in 8s=64 leaves or 128 pages; numbered 1–121; unnumbered 4, and blank 3=128 pages.

Contents: The epistle nuncupatory and the preface are repeated from edition 1536, No. 9, and the emblems, with *two* added.

The 115 emblems are numbered i–cxv; and the devices, the two fresh ones excepted, are from the old blocks of 1534, No. 7.

For various editions of the emblems of Alciati, reference should be made to Dibdin's *Bibliographical Decameron,* vol. i. pp. 260–271.

20. CLARISSIMI | VIRI D. ANDREAE AL- | *ciati Emblematum libellus, uigilanter re-* | *cognitus, & iã recèns per Wolphgan-* | *gum Hungerum Bauarum, rhyth-* | *mis Germanicis uerſus.* |

(Wechel's device, *The Pegasus*, &c.) PARISIIS. | *Apud Christianum Wechelum, sub scu-* | *to Basilienſi, in uico Iacobeo: & sub* | *Pegaſo, in uico Bellouacenſi.* | *Anno:* M.D.XLII.

Colophon: The *Pegasus*, &c.

Collation copy: From the Thingwall library. *Other copies:* Berlin I., Bodleian, British Museum, Copenhagen R., Keir, Königsburg, Stuttgart R., and Mr. *Huth.* *Named* by Weigel.

8vo VOL., 6.22 *in.* × 4.17; *full pages*, 4.48 × 2.55; *devices*, 1.77 to 2.95 × 2.36.

Register: A–Q in 8s = 128 leaves or 256 pages; numbered 1–253; blank pages 2; colophon 1 page = 256 pages.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, "Typographvs Lectori;" pp. 3–13, "Wolphgangvs Hvngerus nobiliss. iuuenibus Baldasari et Wernhero à Seybolsdorf, fratribus. S.D.," "Biturigibus, Calendis Maij. M.D.XXXIX.;" p. 14, "Wolphgangi Hvngeri ad detractorem," Latin verse, 12 lines; p. 15, "Hieronymi Brvnneri Bavari ad Lectorem," Latin verse 12 lines; p. 16, "Clarissimi Viri D. Andreae Alciati in libellum Emblematum præfatio, ad D. Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum," Latin verse, 10 lines; p. 17, "Des Hochbervembten herren Andre Alciat in das buechle der verschroten werck an Doctor Conrad Peutinger von Augspurg Vorrhede;" pp. 18–253, at the top of alternate pages, "And. Alc. Emblem. Lib.," and "Das buechle der verschroten werck," Latin and German; two blank pages and colophon.

The emblems count i–cxv, and have the mottoes, devices and Latin text of former editions, but a German version by Hungerus to each emblem.

As in the later Latin and French editions the two devices added are to the mottoes "*Vino prudentiam augeri*," *i.e.* "Weyn mehret die weyssheyt;" and "*Antiquissima quæque commentitia*," *i.e.* "Was gar alt, ist gemeinklich erdichtet." All the other devices are from the same blocks that were used in Wechel's former Latin and French editions.

Brunet omits to mention this edition, but names another work by Wolphgang Hunger, *Linguæ germanicæ vindicatio*," 8vo, 1586. Bernd's *List*, Ducoin's *Catalogue* 1835, vol. i. p. 175, and Graesse's *Tresor*, all refer to this German translation; and R. Weigel's *Catalogue*, No. 20155, adds, "with

many good woodcuts. This very rare edition is fully described by Dr. Ruland in the *Serapeum* of Dr. R. Naumann, year 1854, No. 2."

As a translator Hunger labours under a similar fault to that of Le Fevre, with whose version he was acquainted; he places the Latin text in a Procrustes bed, and out of 115 emblems makes not less than 109 of exactly the same length; in all these instances rendering the Latin stanzas, whether of *two* or *four* or *six* or *eight* or *twelve* lines, by a German stanza of eight lines. The consequence is that the author's thought is sometimes cramped, and at other times immoderately stretched. The emblem "*Mutuum auxilium*" in the original, of four lines, Hunger enlarges to eight and Le Fevre to sixteen; and in the same spirit, Alciati's admirably compact epigram of two lines to the motto "*Prudentes uino abstinent*," both Le Fevre and Hunger amplify into eight.

WOLFGANG HUNGER[42] was born at Wasserberg, on the river Inn, in Bavaria, in the sixteenth century, and is said to have died in 1555, though from one of his works, named above, published in 1586, a later time is probable.

"He was a man of considerable attainments, and held the professorship of Civil Law in the university of Ingolstat; and besides other offices, discharged that of Assistant of the Imperial Chamber of Spire. He wrote, but suppressed, an apology for the emperor Barbarossa and for Louis of Bavaria. He was the author of several learned works, and translated into German from Spanish and Italian and also from Latin."

His first acquaintance with Alciati's emblems is pointed out in the epistle dedicatory of his "German rhymes," p. 4:

"Very opportunely the little book falls into my hands. As, for

[42] See Sale's *General Biog. Dictionary*, 1736, vol. vi. p. 317. The account we are giving was prepared for our *Bibliographical Catalogue*, and is only assigned its proper place when used as we are using it. It will be found also in the Holbein society's *Fountains of Alciat's Emblems*, 1870, p. 23, as also will some other remarks which are introduced into this volume.

recreation's sake, I often look into it at breakfast or at supper, and I see it turned into rhymes in French. Therefore it seemed good to attempt a German version in the same kind of verse; especially since there was also a festive reason; and, moreover, one wonderfully agreeing with all my alleged arguments. For in this poem of Alciati's, if anywhere, the useful appeared mixed with the agreeable, neither was the Gallic speech wanting, nor, what I chiefly followed, did I perceive that for copiousness or ornament any method of using our country's language was more compendious or fruitful. For why, as in the Latin tongue, so in any other, should not the custom of writing verse bestow upon prose great fertility of words and figures, and, as Sabius terms it, a certain degree of sublimity."

Just at the appearance of the French and German editions in 1542, Wechel evidently expected to have put forth a large increase to the number of the emblems. For the *Printer's Address to the Reader*, p. 2, rather sorrowfully remarks:

"Thou mayst still remain in want of that desirable accession of Emblems with which the author professes to publish an enlarged book;[43] but this happens through the unfaithfulness *(perfidia)* of a famous engraver, to whose charge we had entrusted the device blocks."

And Hunger, the translator into German, in his epistle, p. 6, speaking of Wechel urging him "to carry forward the work commenced even up to its entire completion," adds: "Wechel, moreover, is sending no trifling addition of Emblems recently brought[44] from Alciati out of Italy." May it not have been the fact that the 86 emblems which were printed at Venice in 1546, were intended by the author as the "no trifling addition" for Wechel's editions in 1540, 1542, &c., but of which an engraver's faithlessness hindered the publishing?

In a "Carmen" to his detractors, Hunger avows that

[43] In the title of the French 1542 edition occur the words: "Puis nagueres augmentez par le dict Alciat;" and in the Latin text of the same date: "uigilanter recognitus, et sub ipso tum authore locupletatus."

[44] Hunger was writing from Bourges in May 1539.

he wrote for the "artificum gregi," or *common people,* and declares:

"If to these only my verses do good, I have conquered,
And have touched the port whither my course was directed."

21. ["Los Emblemas de Alciato. En Lyon. 8vo, 1542."]

Authority: The above entry in the *Bibliotheca Blandfordiensis, Symbola et Emblemata,* 1809. Such an edition however is not mentioned by Brunet, nor by Graesse, who says "the edition cited by Antonio appears to be apocryphal," nor by any of the various works I have consulted. It has been placed in the catalogue through deference to the noble collector of emblems, the marquis of Blandford. Had a printer's name been given there would have been better means of tracing out the trustworthiness of the claim.

See No. 16 of this catalogue. Note also that in Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature,* 8vo, 1840, vol. iii. p. 21, no other translation of Alciati into Spanish is named except "the emblems of Daza in 1549, imitated from the more famous Latin ones of Alciatus."

22. ["Les Emblemes de Maiſtre Andre Alciat. Paris. 8vo, 1543."]

Authority: In his *Gli Scrittori d'Italia,* vol. i. p. 367, Mazzuchelli refers to such an edition, and quotes the words, "Revuès par l'auteur."

23. CLARISSIMI | viri D. Andreae Al- | *ciati Emblematum libellus, vigilanter* | *recognitus, & ab ipſo iam au-* | *thore locupletatus.* | (Wechel's *Pegasus,* &c.) Parisiis. | *Apud Chriſtianum Wechelū, ſub ſcuto* | *Baſilienſi, in vico Iacobæo: & ſub* | *Pegaſo, in vico Bellouacenſi.* M.D.XLIIII.

Colophon: The *Pegasus* &c. repeated.

Collation copy: From the Thingwall library. *Other copies:* Berlin I., Florence N., Milan Amb., Verona, Mr. *Cautley* and Mr. *Corser*. *Named* by Brunet and Graesse.

8vo Vol., 6.49 *in.* × 4.13; *full pages*, 4.72 × 2.55; *devices*, 2.55 × 2.36.

Register: A–G in 8s, H in 4s = 60 leaves, or 120 pages; numbered 1–119, and colophon = 120 pages.

Contents: p. 1, title; 2, 3, dedication to Philibert Baboo, "Lutetiæ ex officina nostra typographia, Anno M.D.XLII.;" p. 4, Præfatio as in 1534; pp. 5–119, the emblems, numbered i–cxv, but in count there are cxiii; colophon.

The emblems and devices are the same as those printed by Wechel in 1534, No. 7.

Mr. Corser's copy has written on the title-page "*Collegii Paris. Societ. Jesu*," and inserted a portrait "*Andreas Alciatus Jur. Cons.* 24."

With the collation of this last edition of Alciati's emblems printed by Wechel of Paris, reference may be made to the full biographical notice of the famous printer, by Maittaire,[45] who, in the catalogue of books printed by Wechel, simply notes down emblem editions without assigning dates, altogether omitting German versions, vol. ii. p. 416:

> "Emblemata *Alciati* Latinè tantum.
> Emblemata *Alciati* Latinè et Gallicè."

24. LES EMBLE | MES DE MAISTRE | ANDRÉ ALCIAT, MIS EN | rime francoyſe, et pris | nagueres reimprime auec curieuſe correction. | (Marque typographique, *Une fleur-de-lis fleuronnée dans un cartouche entouré d'ornements entrelacés, aux quatre coins les initiales* I. M. D. P. *La date* 1544 *séparée en deux par la marque typographique.*) Imprime a Lyon cheuz Iacques Moderne pres Nostre Dame de confort.

[45] See his *Annales Typographici*, 4to, Hagæ-Comitum, 1719, vol. ii. pp. 405-469; *Catalogus*, vol. ii. pp. 412-419.

Colophon: Une fleur-de-lis fleuronnée au verso du dernier feuillet.

Collation copy: From the library of H. R. H. *duc d'Aumale*, Orleans house. *Other copies* not known of except at Grenoble.

8vo Vol., 7.24 *in.* × 3.3 (or 18.4 *centim.* × 8.6 *c.*); *full pages*, 4.13 *in.* × 2.59 (or 10.5 *c.* × 6.6); *devices*, 2.59 *in.* (or 6.6 *c.*) wide, but of various heights or lengths.

Register: A–P in 8s, Q 4 = 124 leaves or 248 pages; numbered 4–8 and 10–245; not numbered 3; total 248.

Contents: pp. 3–7, dedication, "A tres hault et puissant Seigneur Monseigneur Messire Philippe Chabot, chevalier de lordre," "Jehan le feure, Secretaire de Monseigneur reverendissime Cardinal de Giury, dit humble salut;" pp. 8–9, "Livret des emblèmes de Andre Alciat," "L'acteur des translations;" p. 10, "Clarissimi viri D. Andreæ Alciati in libellum emblematum præfatio ad D. Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum;" p. 11, French translation of the preface; pp. 12–245, Emblemata cxiii, Latin text and French translation alternately; colophon on the last page.

Many of the figures of the edition, Wechel 1542, are reproduced in this edition, which contains two plates and two leaves of text less.

In the collation from Orleans house it is remarked: "Pas de monogramme de graveur. Dans le cahier B les traductions françaises sont imprimées en lettres gothiques. Exemplaire non rogné."

This edition is referred to in Ducoin's *Cat. de la Bib. de la ville de Grenoble*, 1835, vol. ii. p. 175, No. 18294: "Emblèmes d'André Alciat mis en rimes françaises. Lyons 1544, en 8."

25. ANDREAE | Alciati Emble | matvm libellvs. | (Printer's mark, *A black fleur-de-lis on a shield, and set forth on a cartouch, having at the corners the letters* I. M. D. P.) Lvgdvni | Iacobus Modernus excudebat. | M.D.XLIIII.

Colophon: A large *fleur-de-lis*, entirely black.

Collation copy: From the Keir library. *Other copies:* Besançon, British Museum and Evora.

8vo Vol., 6.1 *in.* × 4.05; *full pages*, 4.52 × 2.59; *devices*, 2.55 to 2.75 × 2.44.

Register: A–G in 8s, H in 4=60 leaves or 120 pages; numbered 1–119, and colophon=120 pages.

Contents: p. 1, title; pp. 2, 3, "Reuerendo in Christo Patri D. Philiberto Baboo," &c., "Christianus Wechelus, Lutetiæ ex officina nostra typographica, Anno M.D.XXXIIII.;" p. 4, "Præfatio;" pp. 5–119, "Andreæ Alciati Emblematvm Libellvs;" colophon.

The emblems have motto, device and stanza, and number 107. The devices, of the same count, are roughly executed; they are closely copied from Wechel's editions of 1534 or 1535, but are not from the same blocks. No monogram to be observed upon them.

26. ANDREAE | Alciati Emble | matvm libellvs | (Typographic mark, *A black lily in the middle of a shield, with a border prettily interlaced in double thread, and having at the four corners the initials* I. M. D. P.) Lvgdvni | Iacobus Modernus excudebat. | M.D.XLV.

Colophon: At p. 120, a typographic mark, viz., *a black lily*, much larger than that on the title-page, and having neither shield nor border.

Collation copy: From the Palatine library of Modena. *Other copies:* no return made of any. *Named* by Brunet.

8vo Vol., 15.6 *centim.* × 10.2, or 6.14 *in.* × 4.01; *full pages*, 4.48 *in.* × 2.51; *devices*, 1.77 *in.* to 3.54 × 2.32 to 2.51.

Register: A–G in 8s, H in 4=60 leaves or 120 pages; numbered 1–119; unnumbered 1, for the colophon; total 120.

Contents: p. 1, title; pp. 2, 3, "Epist. nuncupat. Ch. Wechelii," &c., "Philiberto Baboo," &c., "Lutetiæ ex off. nostra typ. Anno M.D.XXXIIII.;" p. 4, "Clariss. &c., Præfatio ad Ch. Peutingerum Aug.," 10 lines; p. 5–119, "Emblemata cxiii;" p. 120, colophon.

The 113 woodcuts are by different hands and of several sizes; they are without monogram or engraver's mark. The pages do not bear any borders.

This edition may be considered as identical, except in date, with edition No. 25, and is referred to by Brunet, vol. i. col. 148.

27. ANDREAE | Alciati Emble | matvm Libellvs | (Printer's device, *A lily and a scroll on which is the motto*, In Domino confido, Iacobvs Givnta.[46]) Lvgdvne | Iacobus Modernus excudebat | m.d.xlv.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* No return made of any.

8vo Vol., 6.29 *in.* × 4.05; *full pages*, 4.52 × 2.55; *devices*, about 2.55 × 2.36.

Register: A–G in 8s, H in 4 = 60 leaves or 120 pages; numbered 1–119; unnumbered 1 = 120 pages.

Contents: p. 1, title; pp. 2, 3, Epistle nuncupatory of C. Wechel to Philibert Baboo, &c., Anno m.d.xxxiiii.; p. 4, Præfatio ad Ch. Peutinger; pp. 5–119, "Andreae Alciati Emblematum Libellus."

There are 113 emblems, and to each its motto, device and stanza. No monogram or engraver's mark.

The Modena and the Keir copies, Nos. 26 and 27, agree very closely except in the printer's devices on the title-pages, which differ widely. There was a family named Giunta to which the Aldi family were allied, and Jacobus Giunta must have been of the same profession.

In Douce's copy, A 103, of Wechel's Latin text in 1542, mention is made of this edition by Modernus, thus:

[46] For a long account of the family of Giunta, celebrated printers of Florence, see Dibdin's *Decameron*, vol. ii. pp. 250–280. Jacobus Giunta was not of the main branch of the family; "he established a printing office at *Lyons*," says Dibdin, vol. ii. p. 253, *note*, "and I have seen books bearing the *Lily Device*, from that same office as late as 1590 or 1600; but they are held in comparative little estimation."

In the same volume, p. 269, he speaks of the Giunta *devices*, "The oldest of them, I think, is the simple *fleur-de-lis*, generally in red." Dibdin gives an example.

"In 1545 there was p.[rinted] at Lyons by Jacobus Modernus a spurious edition of this book, with bad copies of the cuts, and the last two emblems omitted. The title is simply 'Andreae Alciati emblematum libellus,' with the device of a lily and scroll on which is '*In domino confido, Iacobvs Givnta.*' Wechel's preface or dedic. to Phil. Baboo is retained but with the date 1534." "This edition varies from the Latin and French one of 1542 in having the dedication to Baboo only."

Of Modernus of Lyons there has not been found in the pages of Maittaire, nor indeed in those of the *Biographie Universelle*, any connected notice. His four editions, in Latin and French, are derived from the Paris volumes by Wechel, but they make no acknowledgment of the fact, and thus are liable to the charge of piracy.

28. *ANDREAE AL-* | CIATI EMBLEMATVM LI- | BELLVS, NVPER IN LV- | CEM EDITVS. (Aldine device, *Anchor and dolphin;* motto, ALDVS.) VENETIIS, M.D.XLVI. | *Cum priuilegio Pauli III. Pont. Max. &* | *Senatus Veneti, ad annos decem.*

Colophons: 1. SERIES LITERARVM, | A B C D E F, | *Omnes sont quaterniones.* | APVD ALDI FILIOS. | VENETIIS M.D.XLVI. | MENSE IVNIO. | 2. The same Aldine device, as on the title-page.

Collation copy: From the Thingwall library. *Other copies:* Althorpe, Berlin I., Bodleian, British Museum, Keir, Milan Amb., Venice N. (S. Mark's), and Mr. *Huth.* *Named* by Brunet, Graesse, and Bernd.

8vo VOL., 6.02 *in.* × 3.62: *full pages*, 4.72 × 3.03; *devices*, 2.36 × 3.03.

Register: A–F in 8s = 48 leaves or 96 pages; leaves numbered 1–47; blank 1 p.; colophons 47 *v* and 48 *v*.

Contents: Leaf 1, title; leaf 2, "Clarissimo Hieronymo Bernardo Petrvs Rhosithinvs. S.;" leaves 3–47, "Andreae Alciati Emblematvm Libellvs;" colophons.

The emblems, in number 86, are entirely new, or rather were not before published; the emblems, leaf 37, *Maledicentia*, and

Contra in later editions, *Principis clementia*, are without woodcuts; to all the other emblems there are mottoes, devices and Latin stanzas.[47]

The devices, 84, are rather larger than in the earlier editions, and very different in style; but there is no sign or mark on any of them to indicate the engraver. In point of design they are not inferior to those issued from Wechel's press, but several have a coarseness of execution which very much lessens their value. Among them, however, at leaf 6 *v*, is the beautiful group of the *Graces*, of which Raphael designed the original. Leaf 5, *Ficta Religio*, and leaf 33 *Terminus*, may also be named with praise.

This Aldine edition is a very rare book, and good copies have sold for *six* to *eight* pounds sterling. The *Catalogue du Roy*, Paris 1751, vol. ii. p. 153, No. 1497, thus records it:

"Andr. Alciati emblematum libellus, nuper in lucem editus à Pietro Rhosithino, *Venetiis Aldiis* 1546 *en* 8°."

It has been conjectured that the emblems of this volume were first destined to enlarge Wechel's edition of 1542, but were withheld through the treachery of an engraver (see p. 139); but in his dedication, Rhosithinus, leaf 2, shows that this work was obtained from proper sources:

"Just as out of all the actions for which by reason of surpassing worth of mind, man is born, I have thought none altogether more excellent than when we zealously strive that we may plan for the advantage of men of our age and of their children; so all blemishes in this little book of Alciati's Emblems we castigate, as people say, with a two-edged axe. It is a little book which at this very time is issuing into the light from the veritable original; which doubtless, unless it were so, we should have been forced no otherwise to act than *out of the sand to entwine a rope of rushes*."

Of the world-famed Aldi of Venice, no more need be said here than that the earliest of this family of printers, Aldus Manutius, who invented the *italic* letter, was born in 1447, established himself at Venice in 1494, and died in

[47] Renouard is very brief; he says, in his *Annales de l'imp. des Aldi*, vol. i. p. 331: "47 feuillets, et un pour l'ancre; 84 figures en bois."

"Ce petit volume fort rare, contient 84 emblèmes;" a slight inaccuracy, there are two emblems without figures, and these Renouard omitted in the counting.

1515. His sons were in their minority until 1529, and in 1533, with Frederico and Francisco d'Asola, began to carry on their father's business. Paul Manutius, the third son, born in 1512, had the chief direction. In 1536 there were disagreements, and a dissolution of the partnership in 1540, after which time the works printed at this press were for some years subscribed, "apud Aldi-filios," by *the Sons of Aldus*. Paul Manutius attained to as great celebrity as his father, and died April 6th, 1574, at Rome.[48]

Of Rhosithinus it is conjectured by Renouard, vol. i. p. 33, that "he was not only one of the fellow labourers with Paul Manutius, but that he made also a part of his family; 'for from our house,' he says, 'there has been published nothing new, that is worthy of thee, Girol Bernardus.'"

29. CLARISSIMI | VIRI D. ANDREAE | ALCIATI EMBLE- | MATVM LIBRI | DVO. | (Printer's device, *Two griffins with intertwined tails, and holding in their claws a tablet on which is the motto*,[49] "QVOD TIBI NON VIS.") LVGDVNI | Apud Ioan Tornæſium, & Gu- | lielmum Gazeium. | 1547.

Colophon: A medallion, having a tetrahedron in the centre, and the motto round the border, "NESCIT LABI VIRTVS."

Collation copy: From Mr. *Corser's* library. *Other copies:* Bodleian, British Museum, Florence N. and Munich Pub.

[48] For an account of the three Manutii and of the works printed at the Aldine press, see Renouard's *Annales de l'imprimerie des Aldi*, 3 vols. 8vo, Paris 1803, 1809, 1812, or 1825. Our reference is to the edition Paris 1825, vol. iii. p. 166. Consult also Maittaire's *Annales Typographici*, Amsterdam 1733, vol. i. p. 65, &c.

[49] The full motto belonging to Jean de Tournes was, "*Quod tibi non vis, alteri ne feceris.*"

8vo Vol., 49.2 *in.* × 2.99; *full pages*, 3.95 × 2.2; *devices*, about 1.4 *in.* × 1.7.

Register: A–I in 8s = 72 leaves or 144 pages; numbered 1–143; on the last page the colophon = 144 pages.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, Præfatio ad Ch. Peutingerum; pp. 3–117, lib. i. emb. i–cxiii, with devices; pp. 118–143 ,lib. ii. emb. i–lxxxv, without devices; p. (140), colophon.

The emblems in all are 198, but only 113 of them have devices, which are very small.

Douce has written in his copy, A 350: "The cuts are perhaps by Le Petit Bernard, or by Cousin. They bear the strongest likeness to those in the editions printed by Marnef; Cousin's designs, but by a different engraver from that in Marnef's edition."

This edition is probably the very first in which so many as 198 emblems were collected. The Lyons folio edition by Sebastian Gryphius was in progress, and also the Bâle folio edition by Isingrin. John de Tournes, the publisher of the 1547 edition, had learned his art with Gryphius, and it appears likely may, through him, have received the great addition of 85 emblems. There is however no acknowledgment made of the sources whence the second book had been derived. De Tournes printed several books from 1540 onward in the name and on the account of Gryphius, and hence may have used the griffin, Sebastian's badge, as a mark well known in Lyons, to signify for whom or through whom this edition of the emblems was put forth. The family of De Tournes became renowned in their profession,[50] and in 1740 J. Christian Wolf dedicated his *Monumenta Typographica* to the brothers, who then represented the oldest printing and bookselling family of Europe. After two hundred and forty years of success the business was sold to others in 1780.

30. Reliqva | D. ANDREAE AL- | ciati opera qvae | typis nostris ha | ctenvs non fve |

[50] See our *Life of Andrea Alciati*, pp. 88, 89. Also Maittaire's *Ann. Typ.* Hague-Comitum 1719, vol. iii. pp. 493, 494.

RANT EX- | CVSA | *Quorum catalogum ſequens continet pagella.* | (Printer's device, *A griffin bearing a stone and winged ball;* mottoes, "VIRTVTE DVCE" "COMITE FORTVNA.") LVGDVNI APVD SEBASTIA | NVM GRYPHIVM. | M.D.XLVIII.

Colophon: FINIS.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* No return made of any.

Folio VOL., 13.7 *in.* × 8.85; *full pages*, 10.82 × 6.37; *printer's device*, 3.54 × 3.62.

Register: a–z in 6s, A–Q in 6s, R in 4, S–X in 6s = 262 leaves or 1048 columns; numbered 1–974 columns; unnumbered 74; total 1048 columns.

Contents: On columns 1–948, the "Reliqva opera;" 949–974, "Alciati Emblematvm libellvs." Also on 74 columns, "Rerum ac vocum, &c., index." Column 947 bears the following title:

"ANDREAE ALCIA | TI EMBLEMATVM | LIBELLVS. | AD CONRADVM PEVTINGERVM | AVGVSTANVM PRÆFATIO."

There are 201 emblems, including 14 trees, but they are all *nude; i.e.* without any illustrative device or woodcut. The table of contents declares of the book of emblems, that it was "*ipse quoq; ab autore recognitus ac locupletatus*," reviewed and enriched by the author. This collection, as well as that printed at Bâle by Isingrin in a folio edition of Alciati's works, and generally dated 1549, may be considered the first full edition that was authorised.

Sebastian Gryphius was a native of Suabia, born near Augsburg in 1493; he established himself at Lyons and there carried on his art with much renown. In 1550 his son Anthony succeeded him.[51] Maittaire, vol. ii. p. 575, supplies a list of the works printed by Sebastian, naming "*Andreæ Alciati* Opera quædam; nempe 1530–1542;" but no emblem-books are enumerated.

[51] For an account of the Gryphii and their fine device see Dibdin's *Decameron*, vol. ii. p. 123–126: also Maittaire's *Ann. Typog.*, Hagæ-Comitum 1722, vol. ii. pp. 562–566.

31. EMBLEMATA | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | Iurisconsulti cla- | rissimi. | (Roville's device, *An eagle bearing a wreath in its beak, and holding in its claws a garland within which is a serpent.*) *LVGDVNI,* | *Apud Gulielmum Rouillium* | *sub scuto Veneto.* | 1548.

The title is within a rich border bearing the monogram P. V.

Colophon: "Lugduni, | Excudebat Mathias Bonhomme."

Collation copy: From the library at Thingwall. *Other copies:* Berlin I., Keir, Munich Pub., and Paris N. *Named* in *Cat. du Roy.*, Paris 1750, vol. ii. p. 153, No. 1498.

8vo VOL., 7.44 *in.* × 5.11; *full pages*, including borders, about 6.1 × 3.93; *devices*, about 2.36 × 2.48.

Register: A–K in 8s, L in 4=84 leaves or 168 pages, numbered 1–164; final 4, unnumbered; total 168.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, ornament; pp. 3–5, "Ad Lectorem;" p. 6, "Præfatio ad Ch. Peutingerum;" pp. 7–164, "Emblemata;" *i.e.*: pp 7–11, Devs siue Religio; 12–16, Fides; 17–29, Prvdentia; 31–35, Ivstitia; 36–39, Fortitvdo; 40–44, Concordia; 45–48, Spes; 49–53, Perfidia; 54–59, Stvltitia; 60, Svperbia; 61, Invidia; 61–65, Lvxvria; 66, 67, Desidia; 69–72, Avaritia; 75–78, Gvla; 79, 80, Natvra; 81–83, Astrologia; 84–96, Amor; 97–106, Fortvna; 107–114, Honor; 115–117, Princeps; 118, Respvblica; 119, 120, Vita; 121–125, Mors; 126–129, Amicitia; 130–134, Hostilitas; 135–139, Vindicta; 140–142, Pax; 143–149, Scientia; 150–152, Ignorantia; 153–159, Matrimonia; 160, 161, Insignia; 162–164, Arbores; final 4 pages, "Tabvla Emblematvm in locorvm communes."

The emblems number 201, the devices only 129, the 14 trees being without any woodcuts.

At least 32 of the borders, though some of them are duplicates or even triplicates from the same blocks, bear the much controverted monogram P. V. For the probable meaning of that monogram refer to pp. 67–69 of this volume; and to pp. 67, 70 for the artists who executed the devices within the borders.

A new arrangement of the emblems has here been introduced; it seems probable that it was first formed by Aneau for this 1548 edition; but in his French version 1549, No.

38, it will be seen completely developed, and with a few slight changes, it was soon very generally adopted.

The wood engravings, entirely new in 1548, with additions as they could be prepared, have served for the whole series of editions,[52] Latin, French, Spanish and Italian, which Roville and Bonhomme issued from 1548 to 1566.

32. EMBLEMATA | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | Iuriſconſulti cla- | riſſimi | Locorum communium ordine, ac Indice, | nouiſq; poſteriorum eiconibus aucta. | *Ek πόνου ὁ Βίος.* [*Life from labour.*] | (Printer's mark, *Perseus and the Gorgon's head.*) LVGDVNI, | *Apud Mathiam Bonhomme.* | 1548. CVM PRIVILEGIO.

Colophon: Lugduni, | Mathias Bonhomme | *EXCVDEBAT.*

Collation copy: From the library of Keir. *Other copies:* No return made.

8vo VOL., 4.92 *in.* × 3.46; *full pages*, 4.13 × 2.51; *devices*, 2.36 × 2.51.

Register: A–L in 8s = 88 leaves or 176 pages; numbered 1–164, unnumbered 11, and blank 1; total 176.

Contents: p. 1, title; pp. 2–5, "Ad Lectorem," showing why the emblems have been gathered into "locos communes;" p. 6, "Clarissimi Viri Andr. Alciati, in librum primum Emblematum præfatio ad Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum;" pp. 7–11, Devs siue Religio; 12–48, Virtvtes; 49–79, Vitia; 79–161, Natura, &c.; 162–164, Arbores. On 10 pages, "Tabvla Emblematvm in locos communes digestorvm;" on 1 page, "Privilege dv Roy," "à Guillaume Rouille libraire, & à Macé Bonhõme Imprimeur," "à Mascon, le ix. d'Aoust M.D.XLVIII."

There are 201 emblems and 125 devices, all without borders. The woodcuts, though roughly worked off, are the originals in another Latin edition of the same year. They are attributed to Le Petit Bernard, but are without monogram or sign.

The number of emblems, 201, is the same as in the edition by Gryphius 1548, No. 30.

[52] See Graesse's *Trésor de Livres rares et précieux*, Dresden 1859, vol. i. p. 62.

33. Les | EMBLEMES | de M. Andre | Alciat | Traduits en ryme Françoyse | par Iean le Feure. | A Lyon | Par Iean de Tournes. | M.D.XLVIII.

Collation copy: From the library Wolfenbüttel. *Other copies:* Einsiedeln, L'Escurial, and Munich U.

16mo Vol., 12 *centim.* × 7.6; or 4.72 Eng. *in.* × 2.99; *devices*, 3.5 *centim.* × 5; or 1.37 *in.* × 1.96.

Register: A–H in 8s = 64 leaves or 128 pages; numbered 3–127.

Contents: p. 3, Epistre, "A Treshault & puissant Seigneur Monseigneur messire Philippe Chabot, chevalier de lordre, Conte de Burançois," &c.; p. 10, "Lacteur des translations:

"Ce liure pour vng peu de vent,
S'en voulut vng iour euoler," &c.;

p. 11, "Preface du Livret des bigarreures du luysant homme André Alciat, faite à maistre Conrad Peutinger d'Augsbourg;" p. 12–127, "Emblèmes d'Alciat."

The plates are without borders, and fail in monograms or engraver's mark.

Brunet, vol. i. p. 149, names this a "pretty edition," and says that it reproduces the same plates as the Latin edition issued by J. de Tournes in 1547 and that they are found in De Tournes' edition of 1555. They are quite in the style of Le Petit Bernard, to whom they are attributed. See also Graesse's *Trésor*, vol. i. p. 62.

34. ["Los Emblemas d'Alciato. Lyons, 8vo, 1548."]

Authority: This edition of Bernard Daza's Spanish translation is named in Bernd's *Allg. Schriftenkunde*, &c., Bonn 1830, Erster Theil, p. 81; but no other reference has been found.

35. D. Andreae Alciati | Mediolanenſis, Iuriſconſulti clariſs. om | nia quæ in hunc uſq; diem ſparſim prodierunt | uſquam opera, ab ipſo quidem autore tomis di | geſta quatuor; & ea qua

ad posteros transmitti | censuit perfectione recognita, auctioráque red | dita : non tam Iuris, quàm aliarum etiam discipli | narum candidatis, ob uariam ac multi | plicem eruditionem, permagno usui futuri, &c. | (Printer's device, *A palm tree;* motto, "PALMA ISING.") *Cum priuilegio Cæsareo in annos quinque.* | BASILEAE, PER MICH. | ISINGRINIVM. | 1549.

N.B. Brunet, vol. i. p. 149, dates this Bâle edition 1546; the librarian of the National library, Naples, 1547; the Bodleian, Cambridge, Copenhagen and Nuremberg copies, 1549. Graesse, vol. i. p. 62, is very liberal in dates, and records: "Alciatus, Andreas, Opera omnia, Basil 1546, 1549, 1550, 1558, 4 vols. in fol."

Colophon: "TOMI QVARTI OPERVM DN | *And. Alciati. Finis.*" — At the end of tome iv., at col. 830: "HIS ADIVNXIMVS | *ne quid desideretur.*" | "*Emblematum libellum, & ipsum quoq; ab auto-* | *re recognitum ac locupletatum.*" | (Printer's device, *A palm;* with the words, "PALMA ISING.") "BASILEAE, PER MICH. | ISINGRINIVM." Also, "D. AND. ALCIATI *Emblematum libellus.*"

Collation copies: From the University library, Cambridge, and in the National library, Naples. *Other copies:* Aarau, Bodleian, Copenhagen R., Edinburgh, Königsberg, Louvain, Modena Pub., and Nuremberg. *Named* by Brunet and Graesse.

Folio VOL., 38. *centim.* × 24.5; or 14.96 Eng. *in.* × 9.64; *full page*, double columns with margin, 30.3 *centim.* × 20.4; or 11.92 *in.* × 8.03.

Register (for the emblems): The emblems are printed on 11 pages in double columns.

Contents: On column 830, "D. And. Alciati in libellvm emblematvm praefatio ad D. Chonradvm Pevtingervm Avgvstanvm," Latin stanza of 10 lines; on 11 pages or 22 columns, the Emblems.

There are 201 emblems, including trees; and in mottoes, order and subjects, they are exactly the same with those in the folio edition of 1548 by Sebastian Gryphius. In neither edition are there any devices.

Michael Isingrin of Bâle obtained considerable celebrity as a printer. His edition of Aristotle's works is superior to that of Aldus Manutius; and in 1542 there issued from his press "*De historia stirpium commentarii insignes*," folio, by Leonard Fuchs. Maittaire's *Ann. Typog.*, vol. iii. p. 228–231, will supply a satisfactory account of Isingrin and of his workmanship.

36. Los Emblemas | De Alciato | Traducidos en rhimas | Españolas. Añadidos | de figuras y de nueuos | Emblemas en la terce- | ra parte de la obra. | *Dirigidos al Illuſtre, S.* | *Iuã, Vazquez de Molina.* | (Roville's device, *An eagle and serpent within a brooch.*) En Lyon por Gviliel | mo Rovillio. 1549. | Con licẽçia y Priuilegio.

The title is on a tablet and surrounded by a rich monumental or allegorical border; no monogram on it.

Colophons: On p. 254, "Fin de los Emblemas;" at the foot of p. 256, "Fin de los Emblemas de Alciato traduci | dos en rhimas Eſpañolas por Ber- | nardino Daza Pinciano. | Acabaronſe à 17-de Agoſto 1549." At the end of the *Tabla*, "Fin."

Collation copies: From the libraries at Keir and at Thingwall. *Other copies:* Berne, Bodleian, British Museum, Gotha D., Madrid N., Modena Pal., Nimes, and Schaffhausen, and Mr. *Cautley*. *Named* by Brunet, Graesse and Douce.

8vo Vol., 7.48 *in.* × 4.88; *full pages*, including the border, about 6.29 × 3.98; *devices*, within the borders, about 2.36 × 2.48.

Register: A–Q in 8s, R in 4=132 leaves or 264 pages; numbered 1–256; "Tabla" in 6 pages, and 2 pages blank; total 264 pages.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, "Extraict du Priuilege du Roy." "à Mascon, le ix. d'Aoust, M.D.XLVIII.;" pp. 3–4, "Gvillielmo Rouillio librero à los lettores;" pp. 5, 6, "*Las armas d'el Illustre Iuan vazquez de Molina*;" (device on a shield, a *castle*, and around it 3 *fleur-de-lis*, 7 *S. Andrew's crosses* and 1 *crescent*, and a Spanish

sonnet;) pp. 7–9, "Carta de Bernardino Daza à el Illustre señor Iuan Vazquez de Molina," "De Lyõ de Solarrona primero de julio 1549;" pp. 10–16, "Prefacion de Bernardino Daza Pinciano sobre los Emblemas de Alciato traducidos por el mesmo, à sus Amigos," "De Lyõ de Francia;" pp. 17–150, "Libro primero de los Emblemas de Alciato traducidos en rhimas Epañolus por Bernardino Daza Pinciano;" pp. 151–254, "Segvndo Libro de los Emblemas de Alciato traducidos en rhimas Españolas por Bernardino Daza Pinciano;" pp. 255, 256, "*Soneto a forma de Emblema del muy, M. y muy.* R. señor. G. Perez ã la muerte de Doña Marina de Aragon," with device, a Spanish sonnet, and its Latin translation; final 6 pages, "Table de loqve en los Emblemas de Alciato."

Excluding the two emblems by Daza himself, the Spanish version gives 210 emblems from Alciati, and 200 devices; it is therefore the fullest edition that had appeared. The Latin text and mottoes are not given, but only their translations into Spanish.

Many of the devices, though all of them are carelessly printed, are from the same blocks as those in the Latin text of Roville in 1548. During the interval of a year the woodcuts increased from 129 to 200. Borders surround every page, and several of them bear the monogram P. V. (see pp. 67–69 of our work). The designs within the borders are by Le Petit Bernard.

The privilege from the king, August 9th 1548, shows that this Spanish translation had been just made from the Latin; that a large number of figures had been newly designed, *de nouueau inuentées;* and that heretofore no others, except Roville and Bonhomme, had published them, "*nulz aultres ne auoient mis en lumiere.*" These are strong reasons for supposing that Daza's work did not exist, as some have thought (see p. 132), at a date earlier than 1549. Except with the printer's and publisher's consent people were not allowed "to sell or distribute," in the kingdom of France, "the said emblems of Alciat in the Spanish language, nor to take their augmentations, whether of emblems or of figures, nor those figures which were designed and arranged only by themselves." Now these and similar expressions have a reasonable interpretation only on the supposition that Daza's work and its illustrations were quite recent.

The occasion too on which Daza undertook the Spanish

version shows that in 1549 it must have been quite recent. In his preface, p. 12, explaining to his friends the process of his work, he remarks:

"Moreover I was moved to translate the emblems because, as no one else possessed the preparations which I did, so no one possessed entire knowledge of them: for on coming into France I saw a copy of those emblems, corrected and largely increased (as here you may see) by the hand of Alciati himself. This fact relates to the subject both with respect to the fidelity of the translation, and to the work being made complete at once. Unless that should happen to Alciati with his emblems which happened to Erasmus with his Chiliads, — who, having twice promised not to increase them, at last altered and amplified them to such a degree that what belonged to the first Chiliads did not belong to *the Chiliads.*"[53]

I do not see how these statements are to be reconciled with the claim that a quarto edition of Daza's Spanish version was issued at Lyons in 1540, and an octavo edition in 1542.

As a poet Daza aims at great regularity; he has three favourite stanzas, — the *tercetos* of three lines; the *soneto* of four; and the *ottava rhima* of eight. These he varies with the *dimetros iambos*, the *semi-ottava*, and the *ottava acephala*, of two, four and six lines. Translation into verse, and that verse rhyme, is ever difficult, and we need not wonder that Daza has not been able to walk freely in fetters.

Daza's *first* book contains and generally follows Wechel's editions 1540–1542; his *second* book, the Aldine 1546, with several emblems added.

[53] In the original: "Tambien me mouj à traducillos por que vj que otro ninguno no tenia los apar ejos que yo, ansi por que tenia entera noticia de ellos, como por que venido en Francia vue vn exemplar de estos Emblemas corregido y aumentado de otros muchos (como aqui vereys) de la mano del mesmo Alciato. Lo qual hizo al caso ansi para la fidelidad de la traducion como para ser la obra de vna vez cõplida. Alomenos sino acaeçe à Alciato con sus Emblemas lo que à Erasmo con su Chiliadas que auiẽdo dos vezes prometido de no les aumentar, al fin las mudò y añadiò de tal manera que quien tenia de las primeras Chiliadas no tenia Chiliadas."

Copies of this Spanish version have been accounted rare, because there was no copy in the Whiteknights *Catalogue*, 1819.

In his own copy, now in the Bodleian library, A 481, Douce wrote:

"The cuts in this edition, the same as in the French one of 1549, printed also by Roville. The date of this, which in the title is not clear, must be 1549. See the end of the dedication. The cuts are more numerous than in the French copy, and are differently arranged."

37. Los Emblemas | De Alciato | Traducidos en rhimas | Eſpañolas Añadidos | de figuras y de nueuos | Emblemas en la terce- | ra parte de la obra. | *Dirigidos al Illuſtre S.* | *Iuã Vazquez* de Molina. | (Typographic mark, *Perseus carrying the head of Medusa;* the motto, ***EK ΠΟΝΟΥ 'Ο ΒΙΟΣ***, *Life from labour.*) En Lyon por Mathias | Bonhome. | 1549. | Con licẽçia y Priuilegio.

This title has a border of allegorical figures.

Colophon: In the collated copy the last leaf is wanting.

Collation copy: In the Palatine library, Modena. *Other copy:* Lisbon N.

8vo Vol., 17.9 *centim.* × 11.5, or 7.04 Eng. *in.* × 4.5; *full pages* about 16 *centim.* × 9.8, or 6.29 *in.* × 3.8; *devices*, without borders 6 *centim.* × 6.4, or 2.36 *in.* × 2.51.

Register: A–Q in 8s, R 4 = 132 leaves or 264 pages; numbered 1–256; unnumbered for the *Tabla* 6, blank 2 missing = 264.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, "Extraict du Priuilege du Roy," "à Mascon le ix. d'Aoust, M.D.XLVIII;" pp. 3–4, "Mathias Bonhome Impressor à los lettores;" pp. 5–6, Las armas d'el Illustre Juan vasquez de Molina, *Soneto;* pp. 7–9, Carta de Bernardino Daza à il illustre Señor Juan Vazquez de Molina, "*De Lyõ de Solarrona primero de Julio* 1549;" pp. 10–16, "Prefacion de Bernardino Daza," &c.; pp. 17–254, "Los Emblemas cic (*sic*);" pp. 255–256,

"*Soneto à forma de Emblema del muy M. y. R. Señor, G. Perez à la muerte de Doña Marina de Aragon,*" followed by a Latin translation; at foot of p. 256 "Acabaronse à 17 de Agosto 1549;" pp. 257–261, "TABLA" &c.

The borders and the plates of the editions of Alciati by Roville, or Bonhomme are the same, 1548-1551.

The return from the National library, Lisbon, gives 1540, instead of 1549; it is: "8° Los Emblemas. Bonhome. Lyon 1540, pages 264;" but the real date, 1549, has been misread or the 9 has been partially obliterated into 0.

38. EMBLEMES | *D'ALCIAT,* | de nouueau Trāſlatez en | Frāçois vers pour vers | iouxte les Latins. | *Ordonnez en lieux cōmuns, auec* | *briefues expoſitions, & Figu-* | *res nouuelles appropriées* | *aux derniers Emblemes.* | (Printer's device, within a suspended brooch or medallion, *Perseus holding forth Medusa's head;* the motto, *ΕΚ ΠΟΝΟΥ Ὁ ΒΙΟΣ, Life from labour.*) A LYON CHEZ MACE | BONHOMME. 1549.

The title has a border of allegorical figures.

Colophon: "Imprimez à Lyon par | Macé Bonhomme."

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* Berlin I., Besançon, Bodleian, British Museum, and L'Escurial. *Named* by Brunet, Graesse, Delandine, *Bib. du Roy,* Paris 1750, Goujet and Douce.

8vo VOL., 7.51 *in.* × 4.72; *full pages,* 6.29 × 3.93; *devices,* including border 6.02 × 3.93, without border 2.36 × 2.51.

Register: A–R in 8s = 136 leaves or 272 pages; numbered 1–267; final 5 unnumbered; total 272.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, "*Extraict du Priuilege du Roy,*" "à Mascõ le ix. d'Aoust, M.D.XLVIII.;" pp. 3–4, "Epistre Dedicatoire," "A Tres illvstre Prince Iacque Conte d'Aran en Escoce, filz de tres noble Prince, Iacque Duc de Chastel-le | herault, Prince Gouuerneur du Royaume d'Escoce, Barptolemy Aneau Salut. De Lyõ ce 3 de Iãuier, 1549;" pp. 5–13, "Praeface;" p. 14, "Praeface

de Noble homme Seigneur Andre Alciat, Sur les Emblemes. A Chonrad Peutinger d'Ausbourg," French stanzas of 10 lines; pp. 15–267, EMBLEMES D'ALCIAT, namely, pp. 15–20, "Dedication; 21–27, Diev, ov Religion; *Vertus* — 28–34, "Foy;" 35–48, Prvdence; 49–56, Ivstice; 57–61, Force; 62–66, Concorde; 67–72, Esperance; *Vices* — 73–79, Desloyavlte; 80–88, Follie; 89–92, Orgveil; 93, Envie; 94–102, Lvxvre; 103–106, Paresse; 107–111, Avarice; 112–117, Gvevle; 118–121, Natvre; 122–127, Astrologie; 128–145, Amovr; 146–160, Fortvne; 161–173, Honnevr; 174–180, Le Prince; 181, 182, La Repvbliqve; 183–186, La vie; 187–193, Mort; 194–198, Amitie; 199–205, Inimitie; 206–213, Vengence; 214–218, Paix; 219–231, Science; 232–235, Ignorance; 236–248, Mariage; 249–267, Les Arbres; (268–272), "Table des Emblemes D'Alciat ordonnez en lievx commvns;" (272), colophon.

N.B. The contents have been given thus fully, because it was in this French edition of 1549 Aneau first completely arranged the subjects of the emblems.

There are in this edition 201 subjects, of which 187 have mottoes, and 14 are trees. To most of them is appended a short explanation, often interesting and useful. Of the emblems 36 are without devices. All the emblems have rich borders, of which there are 25 or 26 varieties similar to those of Roville and Bonhomme, Latin, Spanish, French, and Italian editions.

The devices number 165, the workmanship of Le Petit Bernard; on several of the borders the monogram P. V., for an explanation of which, see our work, pp. 67–70.

N.B. The collation copy from Keir is remarkably fine; the plates on the whole being the best I have seen.

Douce, in his copy A 496, remarks:

"This is the first edition of Aneau's translation." "There are 93 emblems added by Alciat, but there are not cuts to all of them."

James Hamilton, earl of Arran and duke of Chatelherault, played a great part in the government of Scotland, assuming the regency in 1542, and in 1565 was acknowledged next heir to the throne after Mary; but in 1570, on undertaking the government with Argyle and Huntley, Elizabeth's armies so ravaged his castles and lands, that this great family and the clan itself were nearly brought to entire ruin.

His son, James Hamilton, also earl of Arran, passed a considerable time in France, and was a young man when Aneau's translation was dedicated to him. Many good qualities and considerable ability have been attributed to him. He was a favourite of Henry II. of France, who appointed him a captain of his Scotch guard in 1555. From France he secretly conveyed himself to Scotland in 1559, and in 1562 denounced the earl of Bothwell as a traitor, and accused him of an intention to murder lord James Stuart. He failed to establish the charge, and on the ground of insanity was confined in Edinburgh castle. He is said to have been secretly an aspirant to the hand of queen Elizabeth, but concealed his purpose that he might be accepted by the widowed Mary of Scotland. She however was indifferent to him, and treated him with contempt, and Arran, sinking into despair, really became insane. He died in 1609. It was probably through him that emblem-books became known in Scotland, so as to engage Mary and the ladies of her court in the practice of the emblem art.[54] Drummond leaves it beyond doubt that the queen, who had passed her happiest years in France, was intimately acquainted with the emblem-books of Lyons; as Paradin's *Devises heroiques*, 1557, and Pavlo Jovio's *Dialogue des devises d'armes et d'amour*, 1561. James I. too had his mother's taste in this respect, and a copy, one of the finest editions of Alciati's works, containing very excellent impressions of the woodcuts of the emblems, belonged to him, and bearing his autograph, is to be found in the British Museum.

Barthelemi Aneau, or Anulus, of Bourges, was born at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and attained celebrity as a poet, a lawyer and an orator. He was the author of several works, among which are, *The Mystery of the Nativity*, and *The Merchant of Lyons*, a satirical drama,

[54] See Drummond's *History of Scotland*, London 1656. Letter dated July 1st 1619.

rehearsing the chief events of Europe from 1524 to 1540. His translations of sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, and of Alciati's emblems, appeared at Lyons in 1549; and at the same city in 1552, a very pleasing emblem-book of his own, PICTA POESIS, *Pictured poetry*.[55] As early as 1530 Aneau was professor of rhetoric in Trinity college, Lyons, and in 1542 was appointed principal. His death was highly tragical. On the Fête-Dieu, June 21st 1565, a stone was thrown from one of the college windows, which hit the priest as he was carrying the Host, and the outraged populace broke into the college, and mistaking Aneau for a Protestant and the author of the insult, massacred him in their fury.

"Arranged in their common places" is a merit, and it is no slight one, claimed on the title-page of this edition. So useful a piece of work is due to Aneau, and it has been adopted in nearly every edition of the emblems printed since his time.

Aneau undertook his translation of the emblems at the instance of a very learned Scotchman, Florent Volusen, "who joined to the knowledge of the arts and sciences that of the Greek and Latin languages, as well as of French, Spanish and Italian." For an estimate of the translation itself the best appeal is to the testimony of an excellent French critic, the Abbé Goujet:[56]

"To avoid paraphrase he fell into another extreme, by undertaking to render the poet's Latin verse for verse. This method, from which he did not depart, has not given any more

[55] The first of his emblems, *An Invocation to the Holy Spirit*, gives a favourable view of Aneau's power and style as a poet:

Every gift that is good,—in blessedness perfect,
From the Father of Light cometh down from the sky;
Let therefore the Poet his work set in order,
And invoke first of all divine help from on high.
Verse adorning with pictures, most earnest we pray
That God pour around us the heaven-lighted day.

[56] See Goujet, vol. vii. pp. 81 and 83.

agreeableness to his translation, as he confesses, but it renders it more faithful."

The author in his preface indeed, p. 13, speaking in the person of his book, thus sums up his remarks:

"Le Livre.
"En translatant vers pour vers rendre, Horace
Point ne commande: & ne defend aussi
Qui le peut faire en ha il moins de grace?
Si c'est mal faict, mal tourné suys ainsi."

"This," adds Goujet, "is what the author makes his book say, and the portrait is a faithful one. The servitude which he has imposed upon himself has obliged him to flounder, as may be well perceived: but what it has produced gave no pleasure to the readers of his time who had any taste, and who began to know better the genius of our language and the character of our versification. There is however an advantage in the precision which Aneau affected; it is, that each verse generally forms one sentence which it was easy to retain, and for that reason the translator has been able to render the book of emblems more useful to those who could not understand the original language."

The rest of Goujet's criticism on Aneau's version is equally sensible, but it is too long for insertion here.

39. Les | EMBLEMES | de Seigneur | Andre Alciat, | de nouueau Tranſlatez en | François vers pour | vers, Iouxte la | Dictiō La- | tine: | & | Ordonnez *en lieux communs, auec | ſommaires, inſcriptiōs, ſchemes, & brief | ues expoſitions Epimythiques, ſelon l'Al- | legorie naturelle, Moralle, ou Hiſtorialle.* | (Printer's device, *An eagle with a serpent.*) A Lyon *Chez Guill. Rouille.* | 1549. Auec Priuilege du Roy.

Colophon: "Imprimez à Lyon par Macé Bonhomme."

Collation copy: In the Bodleian library, Oxford. *Other copies:* Berlin I., Berne, Munich Pub., Nîmes, Vienna I., and Wolfenbüttel.
12mo Vol., 5.48 *in.* × 3.24; *full pages,* 4.52 × 2.36; *devices,* 1.77 to 2.36 × 2.55.

Register: A–R in 8s=136 leaves or 272 pages; numbered 1–266, unnumbered 6; total 272.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, "Extraict du Priuilege du Roy," "à Mascon le ix. d'Aoust M.D.XLVIII.;" pp. 3–4, "Epistre Dedicatoire. A Tres illvstre Prince Jacque Conte de Aran en Ecoce," &c.; "Barptolemy Aneau Salut." "De Lyõ ce 3 de Iãuier 1549;" pp. 5–13, Praeface; p. 14, Preface &c. "a Ch. Peutinger d'Ausbourg;" pp. 15–246, "Emblèmes d'Alciat," arranged in common places; pp. 248–266, Les Arbres; final 6 pages, Table des Emblèmes, &c.; colophon.

The emblems are 201, including 14 trees; the mottoes, stanzas and *Epimythia*, or expositions, all being in French. There are 161 devices, clearly worked and well designed.

For an account of Aneau, Douce, A 374, refers to *La Croix du Maine*, to *Du Verdier*, and to Goujet's *Biblioth. Franç.*, tom. vii. p. 78. See the last article, No. 38, in this *Catalogue*.

Observe.—The very valuable "*Response*" from the Imperial library of Vienna, did not arrive early enough for copies of Alciati's emblems to be inserted in our *Catalogue* before edition 1549, No. 39; but the Imperial library also possesses Nos. 2, 10, 31, 35, 37, and many others which will be found in their proper order.

40. CLARISSI | MI VIRI D. ANDREAE | ALCIATI EMBLE | MATUM LIBRI | DUO. | (De Tournes' *device;* motto, "QVOD TIBI | FIERI NON | VIS ALTERI | NE FECERIS.") LUGDUNI, | apud Joan Tornæſium & Gu | lielmum Gazeium. | 1549.

Collation copy: In the library of M. *J. T. Bodel Nijenhuis*, Leyden. *Other copies* are named below.

The letter from M. Bodel Nijenhuis, 16th May 1869, in addition to the above title, adds as to the *Register* of the volume: "143 pp. et une non numerée, 12mo;" and "De ces deux livres le 1^{r} contient emblemata 113 sur les pages 1–117; chaque emblème contient une gravure en bois et quelques vers. Le livre 2^{d} contient 85 vers, sans aucune emblème, de la page 118–143. Cette édition n'est pas mentionée par Ebert, *Allgem. Biblio. Lex.*, No. 373."

This edition is a reprint from No. 29 of our catalogue, p. 147, and may be regarded as described there.

The *Catalogue du Roy*, vol. ii. p. 153, No. 1499, thus names it: "ANDR. ALCIATI emblematum libri duo. *Lugduni, Joan. Toruæsius.* 1549, *en* 16°."

R. Weigel attributes the engravings to Le Petit Bernard. Bernd, vol. i. p. 79, quotes this edition; and also Graesse, vol. i. p. 62: "Emblematum libri ii. Lugd. ap. J. Tornæsium et G. Gazeium. 1549, in 12°. Av. fig. en bois."

41. *DIVERSE IM | PRESE AC | commodate a diuerſe mo | ralità, con verſi che i | loro ſignificati di | chiarano* | Tratte da gli Emblemi | dell' ALCIATO. | (Roville's device, *The eagle and serpent.*) IN LIONE | da GVLIELMO | ROVILLIO. 1549. | CON PRIVILEGIO.

Within an engraved monumental border of allegorical figures.

Colophon: IL FINE.

Collation copy: In the British Museum. *Other copies:* Munich Pub., Stuttgart R. *Named* by Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. i. p. 149.

8vo VOL., 7.63 *in.* × 4.8; *full pages*, including border, 6.29 × 3.93; *devices*, about 2.36 × 2.48.

Register: A–I in 8s=72 leaves or 144 pages; numbered 1–441, a misprint for 144.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, "Extraict du Priuilege du Roy," "à Mascon, le ix. d'Aoust, M.D.XLVIII;" p. 3, "Al Sereniss. M. Francisco Donato Illustriss. Principe di Vinegia," "Seruitor di V. Sublimità Giouanni Marquale;" pp. 4–144, "Imprese," arranged in the order of the subjects, the 11 "arbori" being at the end.

There are 136 emblems including the trees. There is no Latin text, but mottoes and stanzas all in Italian. Every page is within a fine border.

The devices from blocks, independent of the borders, are 136 in number and claim the same parentage as the others of the Rovillian series, namely, Le Petit Bernard. For the monogram, P. V., on the borders, see pp. 67–70 of our work. Consult also Nagler's *Neues Allgem. Kunst. Lexicon* 1835, under the heading Buonacorsi.

The copy used for collation bears on its back the royal crown of England at the top, and "E. VI. R." at the bottom, *i.e.* Eduardus Sextus Rex. The young king died in 1553, so that the copy was obtained for him soon after its publication.

Of the character of Marquale's Italian version it is not necessary to speak with any diffuseness. In 1549 it comprised only 136 emblems, and at its utmost extent in 1551 did not exceed 181. His work bears the mark of haste, if not of inaccurate appreciation of the meaning of the original, and occasionally amplifies beyond measure. It remained for many years the only utterance in Italian for Alciati's emblems; but this should occasion no wonder, for to the educated Italian of that day the old Latin was, far more than the Tuscan or any dialect of Italy, the language of learning and of literature. Comparatively it was at a recent date that Dante, Petrarch and Boccacio had impressed with their spirit and tone their native tongue.

42. *Diverse Im* | *prese Ac* | commodate a diuerſe mo | ralità, con verſi che i | loro ſignificati di | chiarano; | Tratte da gli Emblemi | dell' Alciato | (Typographic mark, *Perseus bearing the head of Medusa;* the motto, ΕΚ ΠΟΝΟΥ 'Ο ΒΙΟΣ.) In Lione Per Maſſeo | Bvonhomo. 1549. | Con Privilegio.

The title within a border of allegorical figures.

Colophon wanting.

Collation copy: In the Royal library of Dresden. *Other copies:* At Paris, and Perugia, and Mr. *Cautley's.*

8vo Vol., 19.1 *centim.* × 12., or 7.51 Eng. *in.* × 4.72; *full pages,* 15.1 *centim.* × 10., or 5.94 *in.* × 3.93; *devices,* 6. *centim.* × 6.4, or 2.36 *in.* × 2.51.

Register: A–I in 8s = 72 leaves or 144 pages; numbered 1–144.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, "Extraict du Priuilege du Roy," "à Mascon le ix. d'Aoust M.D.XLVIII.;" p. 3, "Al Sereniss. M. Francisco Donato Illustriss. Principe di Vinegia," "Seruitor di V. Sublimità Giovanni Marquale;" pp. 4–133, Emblemi 123; pp. 134–144, "arbori" 11.

The borders of the plates, pp. 3–9, 13–22, 29, 30, 33–36, 39, 40, 55, 63, 69, 67–72, 75, 76, 79–82, 85, 86, 88, 95, 96, 99, 100, 102–104, 107, 115, 116, 125–130, 133–136, 139–142, bear the monogram P. V.; all the other plates are without monograms. To each page there is a border richly ornamented. The emblems and the trees together amount to one hundred and thirty-six (125 + 11).

The catalogues do not always make a distinction between editions by Roville, and editions by Bonhomme. They are indeed, as in our Nos. 41 and 42, essentially the same, but appear to have been issued each by its respective publisher.

Count Cicognara's collection contained a copy, I 313, printed

"In Lione per Masseo Buonhomo 1549, Dedicato al Doge Francisco Donà di Giovanni Marquale in 12."

It is added:

"Figurato in legno con molto eleganzia Sono queste 141 pagine impresse colle tavole, sotto le quale stanno le dichiarazione in versi Italiani."

43. ["EMBLEMATA | D. A. Alciati | &c. Lvgd. Apud Math. Bonhomme. 1549, 8vo."]

Authority: Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. i. col. 148. In answer to our "*Enquête*," April 20th 1870, the information received from the Bodleian library indicated the possession of a copy, but a second inquiry, October 9th 1871, has not been successful; so that Brunet's single line remains as yet the only evidence.

[43 a.] *Ad tertium Idus Ianur.* 1550.

On the 11th of January 1550 Andrea Alciati died, and shortly after, xiii. Cal. Febr. M.D.L., his funeral oration was pronounced where he had been buried in the cathedral of

Pavia. It can scarcely be out of place to enter the title of the little work in the midst of our *Bibliographical Catalogue*.

ORATIO | FVNEBRIS | *IN FVNERE D.* | ANDREAE | ALCIATI, | MEDIOLAN. | Iuriſcon. Clariſſimi & Cæſareæ Maieſtatis | Senatoris Illuſtriſſimi. Ab Alexandro | Grimaldo Antipolitano habita | Ticini. In Edè Cathedrali ad | XIIII. Cal. Febr. | M.D.L. | *IMPRESSVM* | *PAPIAE.* (4to, pp. 24, including *Carmina.*

Colophons: 1° To the Oration, "PAPIAE. | *Apud Franciſcum Moſchenum Bergomenſem, Et* | *Ioannem Baptiſtam Nigrum, Socios* | *Ciueſq; Papienſes. Anno* | *Domini,* M.D.L." 2°. To the Carmina, "Impreſſum Papiæ, Apud Franciſcum Moſchenum, | Bergomenſem. Et Iouãnem Baptiſtã Nigrum, | Socios Ciueſq; Papienſes. 1550.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* At Milan Amb., and at the Rev. *Alexander B. Grimaldi's.*

Contents: (p. 1) title; (p. 2) "Ornatissimo Viro Nicolao Grimaldo Fratri, Alexander Grimaldvs. S.;" (pp. 3–13) "Oratio Fvnebris;" (p. 13) Greek stanza, six lines; (pp. 14, 15) "Elegia," per Alexandrvm Grimaldvm. Antipolitanvm; (p. 16) blank; (pp. 17–20) "Carmina Stephani Gvatii. Alciati Lacrime;" (pp. 21–23) "Ivlii Zvrlae Carmina;" (pp. 23, 24) "Constantivs Landvs Comes Placentinvs in mortem divini Alciati;" (p. 24) in twelve lines, "Fredericvs Scotvs, Comes Placentinvs in mortem divini Alciati."

Alexander Grimaldi and his brother Nicolas, both men of eminent character and learning, were "Antipolitani," *i.e.* of the Antibes or Cannes branch of the family. Their father's name was Gaspar,[57] who was descended from Rainer prince of Monaco; but the present prince, contrary to the Salic

[57] See, by Venasque, *Genealogica Grimaldi gentis arbor*, folio, Parisiis 1647, p. 183, col. 2, and p. 184. The remarks in the text are, however, from a letter dated August 24th 1871, from the Rev. Alex. B. Grimaldi, of Shumanbury in Sussex.

law, which should apply to Monaco as a fief of the empire, is descended from a female ancestor; and the real male representative of the ancient family is Charles Louis Henri Maxencie, marquess de Grimaldi, who resides in Belgium. Venasque, who wrote in 1647, gives no descent from Alexander Grimaldi.

44. EMBLEMATA | D. A. ALCIATI, | denuo ab ipſo Autore | recognita, ac, quae deſi- | derabantur, imagini- | bus locupletata. | *Acceſſerunt noua aliquot ab* | *Autore Emblemata, ſuis quoque* | *eiconibus inſignita.* | (Below is a medallion with Roville's device, *The eagle and serpent.*) LVGD. APVD GVLIEL. | ROVILIVM. 1550. CVM PRIVILEGIO.

There is the usual emblematic border of Roville's editions.

Colophon: "Lugduni, | Excudebat Mathias Bonhomme."

Collation copies: In the Stadtbibliothek in Augsburg, and from Mr. *Cautley's.* *Other copies:* At Ferrara, Gotha D., Grenoble, Holkham, Rimini, and Vienna I. *Named* by Brunet and Bernd.

8vo VOL., 18.5 *centim.* × 12., or 7.28 Eng. *in.* × 4.72; *full pages and devices*, as in No. 31, edition 1548.

Register: A-O in 8s, P in 4=116 or 232 pages; numbered 1–226; final 4 unnumbered and 2 blank; total 232.

Contents: pp. 1–6, title, Privilege, Ad Lectorem, ad. Ch. Peutinger as in No. 31; pp. 7–212, Emblemata 197; pp. 213–226, Arbores 14; final 4 pages, "Index emblematum in locos communes digestorum."

Of emblems and devices there are the full number, 211, the plates being the same as in No. 31, and repeated in 1551, though not with such good impressions.

45. EMBLEMATA | D. A. ALCIATI | denuo ab ipſo Autore | recognita, ac, quæ deſi- | derabantur, imagini- | bus locupletata. | *Acceſſerunt*

noua aliquot ab | Autore Emblemata, ſuis quoque | eiconibus inſignita. | (Typographic mark, *An oval;* in the centre,[58] *Perseus* and the legend, *ΕΚ ΠΟΝΟΥ ὉΟ ΒΙΟΣ.*) Lvgd. Apvd Mathiam | Bonhomme. 1550. Cvm Privilegio.

The title is in a border of allegorical figures.

Colophon: "Lugduni, | Excudebat Mathias Bonhomme."

Collation copy: In the National library, Madrid. *Other copies:* No return made.

8vo Vol., 16.3 *centim.* × 10.7 or 6.41 Eng. *in.* × 4.21; *devices*, 6 *c.* × 6.4 or 2.36 *in.* × 2.51.

Register: The bottom margin cut into; no signatures; numbered pages 1–226; unnumbered 4; total 230.

Contents: pp. 1–6, as in No. 44; pp. 7–212, Emblemata 197; pp. 213-226, Arbores 14; final 4 pages in columns, Index Emblematum in locos communes digestorum."

The borders on 44 pages which are enumerated bear the letters P. V.

46. "[Les emblèmes d'And. Alciat; mis en rime françoyſe par Jeh. le Fevre, *environ* 1550, *en* 8°."]

Authority: Such are the words contained in the *Cat. du Roy*, Paris 1750, *Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 154, No. 1509, Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 357, refers to the same edition. An application, September 4th 1871, to the National library of France, where a copy should be, has not been productive of any information on the subject.

47. EMBLEMATA | *D. A. Alciati,* | denuo ab ipſo Autore | recognita, ac, quæ deſi- | derabantur, imagini- | bus locupletata. | *Acceſſerunt noua aliquot ab | Autore Emblemata ſuis quoq;*|

[58] "Une cigūcna," *a stork*, says the return made August 1870, which we venture to consider inaccurate.

eiconibus insignita. | (Roville's mark, *The eagle and serpent.*) LVGD. APVD GVLIEL. | ROVILLIVM. 1551. | *CVM PRIVILEGIO.*

The usual allegorical border to the title.

Colophon: "Lugduni, | Excudebat Mathias Bonhomme."

Collation copies: From the Keir and the Thingwall libraries. *Other copies:* At Bologna, British Museum, Mazarine (Paris), Milan Amb., Modena Pal., Munich Pub., Munich U., and Stuttgart R. *Named* by Brunet and Van de Helle.

8vo VOL., Keir copy 7.67 *in.* × 4.92; Thingwall 6.96 × 4.52; *full pages* and *devices* as in edition 1548, No. 31.

Register: A–O in 8s, P in 4 = 116 leaves or 232 pages; numbered 1–226; index in 5 pages; blank 1 = 232 pages.

Contents: pp. 1–6, title, Privilege, Ad Lectorem and Ad Ch. Peutingerum; pp. 7–226, "Emblemata" 197, Arbores" 14; total, 211. At the end 5 pages "Index Emblematvm in locos commvnes digestorvm."

The 211 devices are the same as in editions Nos. 44 and 45.

Of the borders 41 bear the monogram P. V.

M. Van der Helle's *Catalogue*, Paris 1868, No. 1610, says: "Edition remarkable; Nombreuses figures sur bois Exemplaire NON ROGNE."

The editions with 211 emblems contain 98 more than the Paris edition 1540, and 127 more than the Venice edition 1546.

48. EMBLEMATA | *D. A. ALCIATI,* | denuo ab ipso Autore | recognita, ac, quæ desi- | derabantur, imagini- | bus locupletata. | *Accesserunt noua aliquot ab* | *Autore Emblemata Suis quoq;* | *eiconibus insignita.* | (Bonhomme's medallion, *Perseus holding Medusa's head;* the legend, *EK ΠΟΝΟΥ 'Ο ΒΙΟΣ.*) LVGD. APVD MATHI. | BONHOMME. 1551. | *CVM PRIVILEGIO.*

The title border of the same allegorical type with the No. 47.

Colophon: "Lugduni, | Excudebant Mathias Bonhomme."

Collation copy: From Mr. *Green*, Knutsford. *Other copies:* At Milan Amb. and Verona.

8vo Vol., 7.03 *in.* × 4.72; *full pages* and *devices* of the same measurement as editions Nos. 31 and 47.

Register: Exactly the same as in edition No. 47.

Contents: Also exactly the same as in edition No. 47.

Every page is bordered round, and many of the borders have the monogram P. V.

The only difference to be observed, except on the title-pages, between editions Nos. 47 and 48 is in the borders to pages 225 and 226, which are in no respects the same. Indeed the borders of these pages in Bonhomme's Latin text of 1551 are not to be found in Roville's Latin text of the same date. Bonhomme, who printed both, has thus distinguished his own copies from those published by Roville.

49. ["Impreſe (diverſe) tratte dagli Emblemi di Alciato, et accommodate a diuerſe moralità per Gio. Marquale. *Lione, per Guglielmo Rouillio*, 1551, *in* 4°, *con verſi, e figure.*" lxviii. b. 49.]

Authority: This title is thus given in *Catalogus, Reg. Bibl. Borbon. Neapoli.*, vol. i. p. 53.

Also, in the *Bib. Casanab. Catalogus*, fol., Rome 1761, vol. i. p. 91, occurs the following notice: "*Eadem cum imaginibus, italice paucis omissis, ab anonymo translata, hac inscriptione:* Diverse Imprese . . . . nella Lingua Italiana . . . . non più tradotte &c., in *fol.* Lione, Gul. Rovillio 1551. m ii. 17."

Neither of these authorities gives evidence of much care in quoting the title of Marquale's Italian version, the one naming it a *quarto*, the other a *folio;* yet it is not likely that the edition referred to was Roville's *octavo* of 1551.

50. *DIVERSE IMPRE- | se Accommodate A | diuerſe moralità con verſi | che i loro ſignificati dichia. | rano inſieme con molte al- | tre nella*

lingua Italiana | *non piu tradotte.* | Tratte di gli Emblemi | dell' ALCIATO | (Roville's medallion, *Eagle and serpent.*) IN LIONE DA GVLIELMO | ROVILLIO. 1551. | *CON PRIVILEGIO.*

The title-border of the same allegorical type with No. 48.

Colophon: *IL FINE.*

Collation copy: From the Thingwall library. *Other copies:* At Althorp, Bologna, British Museum, Florence N., Keir, Milan Amb., Modena Pal., Strasbourg (*fuit*), Toulouse, Ulm, Wolfenbüttel, and Mr. *Corser's.* *Named* by Brunet, Graesse, Bernd, and Ducoin.

8vo VOL., 7.28 *in.* × 4.64; *full pages and devices* as in edition No. 41.

Register: A–M in 8s=96 leaves or 192 pages; numbered 1–191, and 1 blank=192.

Contents: pp. 1, 2, title, and "Extraict du Priuilege le ix. d'Aoust, M.D.XLVIII;" p. 3, "Al Sereniss. M. Francisco Donato Illustriss. Principe di Vinegia," "Giouanni Marquale;" p. 4, "Al lettore" in 8 lines; pp. 5–180, "Emblemi," 181–191 "Arbori."

The emblems are arranged according to subjects, there being of emblems 167, of trees 11, total 180; which is 31 less than in the Latin edition of the same date, but 44 more than in the Italian, Nos. 41 and 42, 1549.

The devices are from the same blocks as the whole series of Lyons editions by Bonhomme and Roville; several of the borders bear the letters P. V.

The remarks on this edition from Graesse's *Trésor*, are:

"It is an abridged or a free translation of the text in 191 pages, and comprises the fine engravings on wood, under which are found the explanations in Italian verses. This very rare edition is dedicated by Giov. Marquale to the doge Frans. Dona.[59] There exists a re-impression, *Lione, (Rovillio)* 1561 in 8°.

In the return to our circular,[60] the National library of Florence observes, July 4th, 1870:

"Toutes les pages sont encadrées par des contours différents

[59] An inaccuracy,—the name is Donato.

[60] The circular being in French, nearly all the answers were in the same language; and when greater exactness is required the original is quoted.

gravés sur bois dans les quels on remarque des architectures, des figures, des masques et autres ornaments."

And were it only out of a feeling of honour towards the old library of Strasburg, we would name the return penned within its walls so late as July 27th 1870, in which the librarian observes:

"J'ai relevé la marque de Graveur P. V. sur la bordure des planches: 7, 8, 39, 40, 43, 44, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 63, 64, 67, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77, 78, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 117, 118, 121, 122, 123, 124, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 149, 150, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159, 160, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, et 174.

"Toutes les pages 1, 3, à 191 sont encadrées dans de riches bordures fort variées. Toute fois la même se reproduit presque toujours sur le recto et le verso du même feuillet.

"Le chiffre des Emblèmes est de 176, celui des arbres de 11, formant ensemble le nombre total de 187."

After close examination of the collation copy, it appears that 180 is the true count of emblems in this edition.

51. *DIVERSE IMPRE* | *SE ACCOMMODATE A* | *diuerſe moralità, con verſi* | *che i loro ſignificati dichia* | *rano inſieme con molte al-* | *tre nella lingua Italiana* | *non più tradotte.* | Tratte da gli Emblemi | dell' ALCIATO. (Typographic mark, *Perseus bearing Medusa's head;* the motto, *EK ΠΟΝΟΥ 'O BIOΣ.*) IN LIONE DA MATHIAS | BONHOMME. 1551. | Con Privilegio.

The title is inserted in a border of allegorical figures.

Colophon: IL FINE.

Collation copy: In the Royal library of Dresden. *Other copy:* At Keir.

8vo VOL., 18.3 *centim.* × 12., or 7.2 Eng. *in.* × 4.7; *full pages,* with borders and *devices,* as in edition No. 41.

Register: A–M in 8s = 96 leaves or 192 pages; numbered 1–191; blank, 1; total, 192.

Contents: The same as in edition No. 50.

To each page there is a richly ornamented border. The emblems and trees together (169 + 11) make up 180.

The borders of the plates, pp. 7, 12, 20, 29, 44, 55, 56, 58, 63, 64, 67, 68, 71–73, 77, 78, 84, 91–95, 100, 117, 118, 121, 124, 133–142, 149–154, 156–160, 169–174, bear the monogram P. V. (or V. p. 100): all the other plates are without monograms.

52. [Alciat, English version. Lyons, 8vo, 1551.]

Authority: A note by Francis Douce in his copy, A 317, of Alciati's Emblemata, Padua 1621, is the only testimony to the existence of such an English version, and that testimony rests on Ames, who compiled the *Antiquities of English Printing.* Douce's words are: "An English edition of Alciati's Emblems was printed at Lyons 1551, 8vo. See Herbert's edition of Ames on English Printing, p. 1570."

No where else have I found such a translation mentioned except on the same authority: it is not found in Watt's *Biblioth. Britannica.* As however there were French, Spanish and Italian translations issued from Lyons at this time, why not an English translation?

53. Emblemata D. A. | Alciati, Denvo ab | ipso Avtore reco- | gnita desi- | derabantvr, | Imaginibvs | locvple- | tata | *Acceſſerunt nova aliquot ab Autore.* | *Emblemata ſuis quoq; eiconibvs inſignita.* | (Roville's device, *An eagle flanked by two serpents;* motto, "in virtvte et Fortvna.") Lvgdvni, Apud Gulielmum Rouillium | Sub Scuto Veneto. | 1552. | Cum Priuilegio Regis.

Collation copy: In the library of the town of Douai. *Other copies:* None have been heard of.

It may be noted that the collating does not manifest much care. 12mo Vol., 13. *centim.* × 9., or 5.11 Eng. *in.* × 3.54; *devices,* 6. *centim.* × 6.5, or 2.36 *in.* × 2.55.

Register: Insufficiently taken; numbered pages, 226; the index not numbered, and 1 blank.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, Privilege du Roy; p. 3, ad Lectorem; p. 6, Præfatio ad Chon. Peutingerum; pp. 7–210, Emblemata; pp. 213–226, Arbores; without pagination, "Index Emblematum in locos communes digestorum."

Observations: Borders in squares of two lines only, without engraver's mark.

54. CLARISSIMI | VIRI D. ANDREAE | ALCIATI EMBLE- | MATVM LIBRI | DVO. | (Emblem, with the inscription, "QVOD TIBI | FIERI NON | VIS, ALTERI | NE FECERIS.") LVGDVNI. | Apud Ioan Tornæſium, & Gu- | lielmum Gazeium. | 1554.

Colophon: An emblem with the inscription, "NESCIT LABI VIRTVS."

Collation copy: In the public library of Munich. *Other copies:* Munich U., and Vienna I. *Named* by Graesse and Weigel.

8vo VOL., 12.5 *centim.* × 7.8, or 4.92 Eng. *in.* × 3.07; *full pages*, 10. *centim.* × 5., or 3.93 *in.* × 1.96; *devices*, 3.7 *centim.* × 5., or 1.45 *in.* × 1.96.

Register: A–I in 8s=72 leaves or 144 pages; numbered 1–143; unnumbered 1=144.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, preface; pp. 3–117, cxiii emblems, engravings with the text; pp. 118–143, Emblematum liber secundus, Nos. i–lxxxv without engravings; p. 144, in the middle of the page an emblematical figure.

In Graesse's *Trésor* the entry is: "Emblematum libri ii. Lugd. ap. J. Tornæsium et G. Gazeium, 1554, en 12°, av. figs. en bois." "Weigel attribue les gravures au Petit Bernard."

Compare No. 54 with Nos. 29 and 40.

55. ["Alciati (A.) Emblemata. 12mo. Paris 1554."]

Authority: "SYMBOLA ET EMBLEMATA quæ in Bibliothecâ Blandfordiense reperiuntur 1809," p. 3.

56. LES | EMBLEMES | DE M. ANDRE | ALCIAT, | Traduits en ryme Françoiſe par | Ian le Feure. | (Typographic mark, *Two serpents, of which one bites the head of the other, the tails being knotted together;* motto, "QVOD TIBI | FIERI NON | VIS, ALTERI | NE FECERIS.") | A LYON | PAR IAN DE TOURNES. | M.D.LV.

Collation copy: In the library at Bâle (by M. W. Vischer). *Other copy:* At Versailles. *Named* by Brunet.

8vo. VOL., 11.5 *centim.* × 7., or 4.52 Eng. *in.* × 2.75; *full pages*, about 10. *centim.* × 6.6, or 3.93 *in.* × 2.59; *devices*, 3.6 *centim.* × 5.; or 1.41 *in.* × 1.96.

Register: A–H in 8s=64 leaves or 128 pages; numbered 1–127; blank 1; total 128.

Contents: Exactly the same as in De Tournes' edition, Lyons 1548. See No. 33.

By a mistake in printing page 3 is marked 5.

57. ["ALCIAT. Aneau's version. Lyons 16mo. 1555."]

Authority: In Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 367, reference is made to a Lyons edition of 1555, with Aneau's French version; if this is correct it would be a reprint of Roville's or of Bonhomme's edition of Aneau's version in 1549, for which see Nos. 38 and 39. It is possible Mazzuchelli may have been misinformed, and that the edition meant is De Tournes 1555, our No. 56.

58. FLORES | EPIGRAMMATVM | EX OPTIMIS | QVIBVSQVE | *authoribus excerpti per Leo-* | *degarium à Quercu,* | *Ad illuſtriſſimum virum Robertum* | *Lenuncurium cardinalem* | TOMVS PRIMVS. | LVTETIÆ, | *Apud Petrum Beguin, via Jacobæa, ſub ſigno Tro-* | *phei ante Matheninos.* | 1555. | CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

Collation copy: In the British Museum. *Named* by Brunet, vol. ii. col. 854.

16mo Vol., 3.75 *in.* × 3.12 ; *full pages*, 3.5 × 2.87.

Register: There are 380 leaves, not pages, in the volume.

Contents: On leaf *, title ; * *v*, "Privilege du Roy ;" * ij, "Catalogvs Avtorvm ;" * iij, "Illvstrissimo viro Roberto Lenuncurio Card. ;" "Leodegarius à Quercu S. ;" * iiij, "In Flores Epigrammatum hendecasyllabi ;" * iiij *v*, "In Leodegarium à Quercu ;" leaves 1–380, "Flores Epigrammatvm."

The extracts are from various authors, celebrated for Latin verse, of which there are forty-five introduced into this volume, as Albutius, Angerianus, Politianus, Erasmus, &c. There is a separate heading for each author, though not always beginning on a fresh page. Of Alciati's emblems 112 have been selected, with their mottoes and Latin stanzas, but without devices. Leaves 180 to 195 inclusive, contain :

"Epigrammata sumpta ex Andrea Alciato."

In treating of Alciati's emblems, *Bib. Casanab. Audiffredi*, Rome 1761, vol. i. p. 94, remarks :

"Et eorundem pleraque *Exst.* inter Flores Epigram. per Leodegarium à Quercu excerptos. Lutetiæ 1555, tome i. a. car. 180, r. xii. 21."

The name Leodegarius à Quercu, like Erasmus Desiderius, Claudius Minos, &c., is one of the names of affectation common in the sixteenth century, and is properly Legier du Chesne. Several works bear his name.[61] He was born in Paris, and in 1556 was a professor in the college De Bourgogne. He died in 1588. See *Biog. Univ.*, vol. xii. p. 107.

59. IN D. ANDREÆ | Alciati Emble- | mata svccin- | cta commen- | tariola. | + | *Sebaſt. Stockhamero* | *Germano au-* | *tore*, | Lvgdvni, | Apud Ioannem Tornæſium | & Gul. Gazeium. | 1556.

There is a neat scroll-like border round the title.

Colophon: "Finis" above a *Death's head.*

[61] See Maittaire's *Annal. Typog.*, vol. iii. pp. 627, 682, 713, and 800,—the last entry being, "Tumulus Leodegarii à Quercu, Moral, Lutetiæ, 1588."

Collation copy: From the Thingwall library. *Of other copies* no return made. See Graesse's *Trésor*, vol. i. p. 62.

24mo VOL., 4.72 *in.* × 2.83; *full pages*, 3.97 × 2.; *devices*, 1.37 × 1.88.

Register: a–i in 8s, k in 4=76 leaves or 152 pages; numbered 1–150; final 2 unnumbered=152.

Contents: p. 1, title; pp. 3–5, "Magnifico, Generoso Atque illustri domino Ioanni Menesio Sotomaior, Domino in Cantanhedi," &c. "Seb. Stockhamerus Germanus S." "Ex Lusitaniæ inclita Conymbricensi Academia Calēd Mart. post virgineum partum Anno quinquagesimo secundo supra sesquimilesimum," *i.e.* 1552; p. 6, "In titulum libelli;" pp. 7–150, "Sebast. Stockhamerus in And. Alciati Emb.; colophon.

The emblems have Alciati's mottoes and devices, but not his Latin stanzas. The "commentariola" are in Latin.

The devices are i–cxiii, and the Death's head; they are neat little woodcuts, new for this edition. Among them a single one, emblem lxxxiii, p. 111, bears the monogram H. B., which was used by Hans Bol, for whom consult p. 80 of our work.

For a brief account of Seb. Stockhamer see p. 91. From the dedication of this edition it appears that in 1552 he was at the university of Coimbra in Portugal.

60. CLARISSIMI | VIRI D. AND. | ALCIATI | EMBLEMATVM | LIB. II. | Nuper adiectis Seb. Stockha- | meri Germ. in primum li- | brum succinctis commen- | tariolis. | LVGDVNI | Apud Ioan. Tornæsium & | Guliel. Gazeium. | 1556.

There is a border of tracery around the title.

Colophon: Entwined with the words "VIRVM DE MILLE VNVM REPERI. ECCLS. VII.", *A laurel wreath;* and within the wreath *a hand and compasses* above the motto, "QVOD TIBI FIERI | NON VIS ALTERI | NE FECERIS."

Collation copy: From the library of J. M. *Ormerod*, esq. of Manchester. *Other copies:* At Berne and in the British Museum. *Named* by Bernd and Weigel.

16mo Vol., 4.8 *in.* × 2.75; *full pages*, 3.85 × 2.04; *devices*, 1.37 × 1.88.

Register: a–n in 8s, o in 4 = 108 leaves or 216 pages; numbered 1–214; 1 blank; 1 colophon = 216 pages.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, "Clariss. Viri D. And. Alciati in librum primum Emblematum præfatio, ad D. Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum;" pp. 3–5, "Magnifico" &c. as in No. 59, omitting "Ex Lusitaniæ" &c.; p. 6, "In titulum libelli;" pp. 7–188, Andreæ Alciati Emb. Lib. i. Emblemata i–cxiii; pp. 189–214, Andreæ Alciati Emblematum Liber Secundus, i–lxxxv; p. (216), colophon as above.

To each emblem of the *first* book are assigned Alciati's Latin text and a woodcut, and Stockhamer's *Short Comment;* the *second* book gives Alciati's Latin text, but is without device or comment; total emblems 198.

The devices are 113, of which R. Weigel's *Catalog* 1844 remarks: "Perhaps by B. Salomon, or Le Petit Bernard."

Compare with No. 59, *Catalogue*, p. 177.

61. ["Les Emblemes de M. Andre Alciat. 8vo, Paris 1556."]

Authority: Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 367. See also Nos. 12, 22, 46 and 56 in the *Catalogue.*

61 a. ["Alciati Emblemata. 8vo. Rubeus, *Ferrariæ* 1556."]

Authority for the existence of such an edition of Alciati's emblems is so very doubtful that, although it is mentioned, no additional numeral of its own is prefixed, and it is not counted as one of the editions. It may however not be uninteresting to have its claim disproved.

The passage has been adduced in its favour from the *Catalogue du Roy*, Paris 1750, *Belles Lettres*, vol. i. p. 154:

> "Barthol. Riccii in quasdam Alciati latinas voces ab eo malè perceptas, ad Camillum filium monita. *Ferrariæ, Franc. Rubeus*, 1556, *in* 8°;"

but this reference is not to a work by Alciati but to one by Riccii, warning his son Camillus of faults in the latinity of the emblems.

A work of great research by the present librarian of Ferrara, vol. i. p. 164, enumerates the "Simbolica" printed in

that city,[62] *three* in number, between 1545 and 1838, but Alciati's emblems are not one of the three. In a letter from him, May 1870, as to the Alciati editions in the library, which he notes down, he says:

"There is no other edition; thus it remains that nowhere in the manuscript Typographical Annals of Baruffaldi is found mentioned the Ferrarese edition of 1556, which in that case would be that of Francisco Rossi di Valenza, called Francisco Rubeus."[63]

So this Ferrarese edition may be dismissed from our reckoning.

62. D. Andreae Alciati | . . . . Opera omnia, &c. &c. (see No. 35, p. 152.) Basileae, per Mich. | Isingrinivm. | 1558. (4 vols. folio.)

At the end of tome iv. cols. 819, 820,
"D. And. Alciati Emblematum Libellus."

Collation copy: In the university library, Cambridge. *Other copies:* At Catana, Darmstadt D., Dresden R., Ferrara, Florence N., Leeuwarden and Strasbourg, *fuit.*

Folio Vol., see No. 35, p. 152.

Register: (For the emblems) *eleven* pages; on *signature* MM mm 3–8, in double columns, "Emblematum Libellus."

Contents: At the foot of the page, vol. iv. cols. 819, 820, "D. And. Alciati in libellum emblematum præfatio ad Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum," 10 lines Latin verse; the next 11 pages, "Emblematum libellus."

See *Catalogue,* No. 35, p. 152.

63. Toutes (*sic*) les | emblemes | de M. Andre Alciat, | de nouueau trāſlatez en françoys | vers pour vers, Iouxte la | diction latine: | et |

[62] See *Notizie relative a Ferrara*, 2 vols. large 8vo, 1868, by Luigi Napoleone Cav. Cittadella, pp. 791, 479, and 164.

[63] The text of this part of the letter is: "Nessuna altra edizione; anzi si rimarra che neppure negli annali tipografici manuscritti del Baruffaldi si trova notata la edizione ferrarese del 1556, che incaso sarebbe di Francesco Rossi da Valenza, stampatore ferrarese, detto Fr[a] Rubeus."

ordonnez en lieux communs, avec ſommaires, inſcri- | ptions, ſchemes et briefues expoſitiõs épimythiques, | ſelon l'allegorie naturelle, morale, ou hiſtorialle, | auec figures nouvelles appropriées aux der- | niers emblemes enuoyées par l'autheur, peu | avant ſon decez, cy deuant non imprimées. | (Typographic mark, *An eagle on a rock, and two serpents straightening themselves;* motto, "In virtute | et fortuna.") | Lyon, | chez Guillaume Rouille. 1558. | Avec priuilege du Roy.

The collation paper has been followed as sent from Versailles.

Collation copy: In the library, Versailles. *Of other copies* no return made. *Named* by Brunet, Bernd, Graesse and Mazzuchelli.

12mo Vol., 12. *centim.* × 8.; or 4.72 Eng. *in.* × 3.14; *full pages*, 11.3 *centim.* × 7.3; or 4.44 *in.* × 2.87; *devices*, 6.3 *centim.* × 6.; or 2.48 *in.* × 2.36.

Register: A–R (return imperfect); pages numbered 276.

Contents: Privilege du Roy, Paris 8 d'aôut 1556; p. 3, "A tres Illustre prince Jacque, Conte d'Aran en Escoce;" pp. 6–13, Preface; p. 14, Preface d'Alciat; pp. 15–257 (*sic*), Emblems; trees on 19 pages.

For the full statement see *Catalogue*, No. 38, edition 1549.

Mazzuchelli, Bernd and Graesse refer to this edition. Brunet, vol. i. col. 149, cites it as translated by Barth. Aneau; and the *Cat. du Roy*, Paris 1750, vol. ii. p. 154, entitles it:

"1511. Les emblèmes d'André Alciat, de nouveau translatez en françois vers pour vers, ordonnez en lieux communs, auec des expositions épimythiques, par Barthelemy Aneau, Lyon, Guil. Rouille, 1558, en 16°."

64. ["D. And. Alciati. | . . . . . Opera omnia. (6 vols. folio.) Lvgdvni, 1560–1561."]

The emblems are in the *sixth* volume, namely:

"And. Alciati Jurisconsvlti. | Mediolanensis, Tractatus | Orationes, Adnotationes | in C. Tacitum, Emblemata. | Tomi Sexti Pars unica, | Lugduni 1560."

At the end of the *sixth* volume, leaf 335:

"Emblemata Andreae Alciati, denvo ab ipso avtore recognita, ac, qvae desiderabantur, imaginibvs locupletata. *Accesserunt noua aliquot ab Autore Emblemata suis quoque eiconibus insignita.*"

Colophon: "Lvgdvni, Petrvs Fradin[64] excudebat. M.D.LX."

Collation copy: In the library of the British Museum. *Other copies:* At Rennes (only vols. i. and ii.), and in the library of M. *Bethune* of Bruges. *Named* by Brunet and Graesse.

Folio Vol., 14.17 *in.* × 9.33; *full pages*, 12.2 × 6.49; *devices*, about 2.56 × 2.48.

Register: In the 6th vol., on leaves 334 *v*–354, are 20½ leaves or 41 pages, which are occupied by emblems; the colophon is on leaf 354 *v*.

Contents: On leaf 334 *v*, "Candido Lectori Pardulphus Prateius Iurisconsultus Augusto-buconias;" "Lugduni quarto Nonas Iulias M.D.LIX.;" on leaf 335, "Præfatio ad Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum;" on leaves 335–354, "Andreæ Alciati Emblemata;" on leaf 345 *v*, the colophon.

Each of the 211 emblems has a motto, a device, and a Latin stanza. The "Vespertilio" being given but once, and another emblem being without a woodcut, the devices are only 209 in number. They are among the very best of the kind.

The collation copy is in the binding of the early part of the seventeenth century; at the back of the volumes, at the top is the royal crown, at the bottom the initials I. R., *i.e.* Jacobus Rex; on the cover, front and back, are the royal arms, and at the corners the *fleur-de-lis*.

N.B. By a slight inaccuracy Mr. Yates[65] quotes this Lyons edition as if there had been a Milan edition of the same date. He is speaking of the German translation of the first emblems

[64] Pierre Fradin of Lyons was the son or successor to Constantine Fradin of the same city, whose printer's device, Brunet, vol. iii. col. 842, gives under the date 1520: "Cōstātine in hoc ✠ signo vīces."

[65] See his *Sketch of Books of Emblems*, Liverpool 1848, p. 22.

published in Paris in 1542, and says: "See preface to these published in *Alc. Opera Mediol.* 1560." But no other trace has been met with of such an edition, and consequently no Milan edition, 1560, has been entered in this *Catalogue.*

65. ["Flores epigrammatum ex optimis quibuſque auctoribus excerpti per Leodegarium à Quercu. *Lutetiæ, apud Hieron. de Marnef,* 1569, *en* 16°. Tome 1er."]

Authority: The title is taken from Brunet's *Manuel* 1861, vol. ii. col. 354; where it is stated that it was followed by a second volume, *Farrago poematum,* &c. Paris, Ægid. Gorbius, or Guil. Cavellat, 1560, in 16mo.

In our *Catalogue,* No. 58, p. 176, it may be seen that, under the name of Leodeg. à Quercu, Legier Du Chesne published in his *Flores epigrammatum,* 112 of Alciati's emblems, but without devices.

66. Emblemes d'Alciat en La | tin et François, vers povr vers. *Ordonnez en lieux communs,* auec *briefues expoſitions & figures propres.* Auec la table d'iceux, miſe à la fin. (Printer's device,[66] *Pelican and young;* motto, "IN ME MORS, IN ME VITA.") A PARIS, *chez Hieroſme de Marnef, à l'enſeigne du Pelican, mont S. Hilaire,* 1561.

Colophon: The *griffin, stone and winged ball;* motto, *"Virtvtis et Gloriæ Comes Invidia.*

[66] This device of the *Pelican* appears on a title-page, Paris 1520, as the mark of Geoffroy de Marnef (see Brunet, vol. i. col. 810); and of Jean and Enguilbert de Marnef; and for the last two in 1536, with the motto, "EXIMII AMORIS TYPVS."

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* At Besançon, Mazarine (Paris), and Munich Pub. *Named* in Bernd's *List*, and in the *Cat. du Roy*, Paris 1750, *Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 154, No. 1511 (*bis*).

16mo Vol., 4.72 *in.* × 2.87; *full pages*, 3.85 × 1.96; *devices*, about 1.37 × 1.81.

Register: A–Q in 8s = 128 leaves or 256 pages; numbered 1–245; index 9 pages; blank 1, and colophon = 256.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, "Bibliopola Lectori S.;" pp. 3, 4, Preface to Peutinger; pp. 5–245, Emblemes; on 9 pages, "Index Emblematum in locos communes digestorum;" colophon.

The devices are 130 only, including the trees; the emblems are the usual number, 211. A French exposition is added as well as a French version.

67. CLARISSIMI | viri D. And. | Alciati | Emblematvm | Lib. ii. | Nuper adiectis Seb. Stockha | meri Germ. in primum li | brum succinctis commen | tariolis. | Lvgdvni, | Apud Ioan. Tornæsium, & | Guliel. Gazeium. | 1561.

The title is within a pretty scroll-like border as in Nos. 59 and 60.

Colophon: The same in *device* and *mottoes* with edition 1556, *Catalogue* No. 60.

Collation copy: In the Bodleian library, Oxford. *Other copies:* At Bâle, Darmstadt D., and Dresden R.

16mo Vol., 4.72 *in.* × 2.95; *full pages* and *devices*, as in edition 1556, No. 60.

Register: 216 pages, as in edition 1556, No. 60.

Contents: pp. 1–6, exactly as in edition 1556, No. 59; pp. 7–216, as in edition 1556, No. 60.

Emblems are 198, devices 113, as in edition 1556, No. 60.

See Douce's note, quoted in edition 1547, No. 29. Also compare this edition, No. 67, with editions Nos. 29, 59, and 60.

68. Les | EMBLEMES | de M. Andre | Alciat | Traduits en ryme Françoise | par Iean le Feure. | (Printer's device; motto, "vbertas | in pace.") |

A PARIS, | Par Iean Ruelle demeurant à la Rue | ſainct Iāques, à l'enſeigne | ſainct Nicolas. | 1562.

Colophon: A lozenge-shaped ornament of tracery.

Collation copy: From the library at Thingwall. *Other copies* not known.

24mo VOL., 4.13 *in.* × 3.07; *full pages*, 3.74 × 2.16; *devices*, 1.29 × 1.96.

Register: A–E in 8s = 40 leaves or 80 pages, unnumbered.

Contents: Sig. A i, title; A ij, "Preface dv Livret des Bigarreures du luysant homme André Alciat, faicte à maistre Conrad Peutingere d'Auspurg," in 14 lines of French verse; "L'Actevr des translations," stanza of 8 lines; A iij–F 8, Emblemes d'Alciat.

The emblems, in number 108, have each a Latin and a French motto, and a French translation, generally with a device to every third emblem. The devices number only 36; they are small woodcuts of little worth, except for neatness.

Compare the contents with those of edition 1536, No. 10. Some have attributed the woodcuts to Jollat, — "maitre au globe renversé;" see however *Life of Alciati*, pp. 65, 66, and 81.

69. EMBLEMES | D'ALCIAT, | De nouueau tranſlatez en | François vers pour vers | iouxte les Latins. | *Ordonnez en lieux communs auec* | *briefues expoſitions, & Figu* | *res nouuelles appropriées* | *aux derniers Emblemes.* | A LYON, PAR GVILL. | ROVILLE. | M.D.LXIIII.

Within the usual emblematical border, since edition 1549, No. 38.

Colophon: "Fin."

Collation copy: In the library of Mr. *Cautley*. *Other copies* not known.

8vo VOL.; bound with edition 1550, No. 44; *full pages*, 6.37 *in.* × 3.93; *devices*, 2.36 × 2.44.

Register: A–R in 8s = 136 leaves or 272 pages; numbered 1–267; unnumbered 5 = 272.

Contents: pp. 3, 4, "Epistre a tres-illustre Prince Iaques Conte d'Aran," &c.; "Barptolemy Aneau Salut;" "De Lyon ce 3 de

Ianuier 1548;" pp. 5–12, Preface; p. 13, "Le Livre," a French stanza of 4 lines, "En translatãt vers pour vers," &c.; p. 14, Preface &c. "a Chonrad Peutinger d'Avsbovrg;" pp. 15–248, Emblemes; pp. 249–267, Arbres; on 5 pages, Tables des Emblemes, &c.

The emblem-subjects are 185, the tree-subjects 18. For the emblems 170 devices, for the trees 14; total 184.

There are borders to every page, many bearing the old monogram P. V. See Alciati's *Life*, pp. 67–69, and *Catalogue*, Nos. 36, 41, 42, 45, 48, 50 and 51.

70. *D. And.* | ALCIATI EMBLE- | MATA DENVO AB | ipſo Autore recognita, ac | quæ deſiderabantur, ima- | ginibus locupletata. | *Acceſſerunt noua aliquot ab* | *Autore Emblemata ſuis quoque* | *eiconibus inſignita.* | LVGDVNI, | *APVD* | GVLIELMVM | ROVILL, | *M.D.LXIIII.*

Within almost the same border as in the editions of 1551, Nos. 47 and 48.

Collation copy: From the Thingwall library. *Other copies:* At Augsburg, Berlin I., Munich Pub., and Verona.

8vo VOL., 7.48 *in.* × 4.52; *full pages* and *devices*, as in Nos. 36, 32, 31.

Register: A–O in 8s, P in 3 = 115 leaves or 230 pages; numbered 1–226; final 4 unnumbered = 232.

Contents: pp. 3–5, "Ad Lectorem;" p. 6, "Præfatio ad Chon. Peut. August.;" pp. 7–226, Emblemata; on 3 final pages, "Index Emblematvm," &c.

The emblems are all within ornamental borders, of which at least 30 bear the monogram P. V. To many emblems are appended short notes or observations.

The devices are from the same blocks as in the editions of 1551, Nos. 47 and 48; in which however are several new ones that were not in the editions of 1548, Nos. 31 and 32.

At p. 143 the plate differs from that on the same subject in edition 1548, p. 107. At p. 114, edition 1548, are a plate and subject not in edition 1564. There are two or three other similar variations.

71. DIVERSE IMPRE- | SE ACCOMMODATE A | diuerſe moralità, converſi | che i loro ſignificati dichia | rano inſieme con molte al- | tre nella lingua Italiana | non piu tradotte. | Tratte da gli Emblemi | dell' ALCIATO. | IN LIONE, | *APPRESSO* | GVLIELMO | ROVIL | LIO. | *M.D.LXIIII.*

With the same ornamented border as edition 1551, No. 50.

Colophon : IL FINE.

Collation copy : From the library at Thingwall. *Other copies :* At Keir, Catana, and Verona. *Named* by Brunet and Graesse.

8vo VOL., 7.36 *in.* × 4.33 ; *full pages* and *devices*, as in edition 1551, No. 50.

Register : A–M in 8s=96 leaves or 192 pages; numbered 1–191 ; the final page blank=192.

Contents : p. 3, "Al Sereniss. M. Francisco Donato Illustriss. Principe di Vinegia," "Seruitor di V. Sublimità Giouanni Marquale ;" pp. 4, "Al Lettore," a stanza of 8 lines ; pp. 5–180, "Emblemi," as classified ; pp. 181–191, Arbori.

As in editions 1549, 1551, &c., Nos. 41 and 47, there are ornamented borders to the emblems. Of emblems there are 169, of trees 11=180.

The devices amount to 180, of which 43 are not in edition 1549, No. 41.[67] The plates at pp. 107 and 147 of edition 1549 are different from those at pp. 129 and 170 of this 1564 edition, No. 71.

The monogram P. V. is on 31 of the borders.

The previous editions of Marquale's Italian version are 1549 *bis*, and 1551 *tres ; i.e.* Nos. 41, 42, 49, 50 and 51.

72. EMBLEMATVM | CLARISSIMI VIRI D. | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | LIBRI II. | In eadem fuccincta commentariola, nunc | multo, quàm antea, caſtigatiora &

[67] Namely, those on pp. 48, 51, 53, 57, 58, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 75, 76, 78, 79, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 113, 114, 116, 123, 124, 125, 126, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 142, 143 and 144.

longe | locupletiora, Sebaſtiano Stockhamero | Germano, auctore. | (Plantin's device, *Hand and circle;* motto, "LABORE ET CONSTANTIA.") ANTVERPIÆ. | Ex officina Chriſtophori Plantini. | clɔ.iɔ.lxv. | CVM PRIVILEGIO.

Colophon: "EXCVDEBAT CHRISTO- | PHORVS PLANTINVS, | ANTVERPIÆ."

Collation copy: From the library of Keir. *Of other copies* no return made; though *named* by Bernd, vol. i. p. 80; R. Weigel, No. 21165; *Cat. du Roy*, Paris 1750, vol. ii p. 154, No. 1500; and Mazzuchelli, vol. i.

24mo VOL., 4.48 *in.* × 2.91; *full pages*, 3.62 × 1.96; *devices*, 1.41 × 1.83.

Register: Initial 8 pages unnumbered; 1–229 numbered; final 3 pages, blank, colophon and blank = 240 pages.

Contents: On A, Title; A*v*, "Tenor Privilegii," "Bruxelles xxvi Maij, Anno Domini M.D.LXIIII;" on A2, Dedication, "Magnifico, Generoso, atque illustri domino Joanni Menesio Sotomaior, domino in Cantanhide, &c., Seb. Stockhamerus Germanus S. D.;" on A4, "Clarissimi Atque æterni nominis viri D. Andreæ Alciati, &c., ad eximium atque egregie doctum D. Conradum Peutingerum," &c.; pp. 1–204, And. Alciati Emb. Lib. i.; pp. 205–229, And. Alciati Emb. Lib. ii.; colophon.

Like Stockhamer's editions 1556, No. 60, and 1561, No. 67, this edition has 198 emblems, and only 113 devices, — simple little woodcuts; which Weigel's *Kunst-Catal.*, No. 21165, says "are different from the woodcuts in the other Plantinian editions."

It is singular that this edition is not named in the *Plantinian Annals*, 1865, pp. 43–52, where twenty-seven works are quoted for the year 1565.

Plantin's time-honoured device, *The compass-guiding hand of divine Providence*, still surmounts the printing-house which he founded at Antwerp, and still in 1871 remains the property of his descendants, the Moreti, who rank among the nobles of Belgium. Here VICTORIA herself has worked the ancient press, for which Arias Montanus, Justus Lipsius, Francis Raphaleng, and others, were readers and

correctors. Plantin died in 1589, leaving three daughters, each of whom was married to a celebrated printer; Margaret to Francis Raphaleng of Leyden; Martine to John Moretus of Antwerp; and Jane to Gilles Begs of Paris.[68]

73. EMBLEMATVM | CLARISSIMI VIRI D. | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | LIBRI II. | In eadem succincta commentariola, nunc multo, | quàm antea, castigatiora & longè locupletiora, | Sebastiano Stockhamero Germano, auctore. | ANTVERPIÆ. | Ex officina Christophori Plantini. | CIↃ.IↃ.LXVI. | CVM PRIVILEGIO.

Colophon; "Excud. Christ. Plantinus, Antverpiæ, xiii. Kal. Novemb. anno M.D.LXVI."

Collation copy: In the Imperial library of Berlin. *Other copies:* At Aarau, Besançon and Siena. *Named* in the *Ann. Plantin.*, p. 64, and in the Blandford *Catalogue.*

24mo VOL. The measurements not returned. See No. 72.

Register: There are 250 pages.

Contents: Not returned. See edition 1565, No. 72.

73 a. ["Emblematum, &c. 24mo. Tornæsius, 1566."]

Authority: R. Weigel's *Catalog.*, Leipzig 1544, No. 13373, is said to name an edition by Tornæsius, Lugd. 1566; but the evidence is not conclusive enough to admit such an edition to be counted independently in this catalogue. Should not Weigel's date be 1556? See Nos. 59 and 60.

74. LIBER EMBLEMATVM | D. ANDREÆ AL- | CIATI, NVNC DENVO | COLLATIS EXEMPLARIBVS | multo castigatior quam vnquam | ante hac editus.

[68] For a fuller account consult the *Fac-simile Reprint of Whitney's Emblems*, 1866, pp. 266–269, and 269–271. Also consult Maittaire's *Ann. Typog.* Hagæ-Comitum, 1722, vol. iii. pp. 545–552, for *Biographical Notices* of Christopher Plantin; vol. iii. pp. 557, 558, of Francis Raphaleng; and vol. iii. p. 559 of Plantin's widow and the Moreti.

Kunſtbuch | Andree Alciati von Meyland bey | der Rechten Doctorn / allen liebhabern der | freyen Künſt / auch Malern Goldſchmiden / Seiden | ſtickern und Bildhauwern / jetz und zu ſonderm nutz und | gebrauch verteutſcht und an Tag geben / durch Jere=/miam Held von Nördingen / mit ſchönen / lieb= | lichen / neuwen / kunſtreichen Figuren | geziert und gebeſſert. | (A slight ornament) Mit Röm=Keyſ. Mt. Freyheitinges | heu jaren nicht nach zu drucken | Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am | Mayn | M.D.LXVI.

Colophon: Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am | Mayn / bey Georg Raben/ in ver= | legung Sigmund Feyrabents vnd | Simon Hüters. | (*The device.*) M.D.LXVII.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* At Berlin I., Bologna Arch., Copenhagen R., and Munich Pub. The edition is *named* by Graesse, Weigel and Bernd.

8vo Vol., 6.7 *in.* × 3.54; *full pages*, 4.92 *in.* × 2.59; *devices*, 1.77 *in.* to 2.04 × 2.59.

Register: Initial 13 leaves unnumbered; then1–130 numbered; final 7 unnumbered; total, 150 leaves or 300 pages.

Contents: On A ii in 10 pages "Vorrede," "Dem Ehrnvesten Hochgelehrten Ehrewurdigen vñ Wolweisen Raymundo Graff der Rechten Doctorn Nassau-wischen Wissbadischen Rihtmeinen gunstigen Herrn," "in dem jar vnser Erlosung 1566," "Jeremias Held." In 13 pages, "Vorrede an dem Günstigen Leser," "Anno 1566, ex Musæo Sigismundi Feyerabent." Leaves 1–130 "Emblemata;" in 6 pages, "Index Emblematum;" in 6 pages, "Register ober die Emblemata;" 1 p. Errata; 1 p. colophon.

The emblems, i–ccxvii (a misprint), have German mottoes and verses as well as Latin, but all the emblems have not mottoes.

The devices, 130 only, are in appearance from original blocks; the woodcuts are very pretty. Of this edition and of its reprint in 1580, Graesse remarks: "The figures in wood are from the hand of Virg. Solis." This is confirmed by R. Weigel, who adds: "They were not known to Bartsch."

Of Held's translation an example is given in the *Life of Alciati*, p. 61. A biography of Held himself I have not yet met with.

75. D. AND. | ALCIATI EMBLE | MATA DENVO AB | ipſo Autore recognita, ac | quæ deſiderabantur, ima- | ginibus locupletata | *Acceſſerunt noua aliquot ab* | *Autore Emblemata ſuis quōque* | *eiconibus inſignita.* | LVGDVNI | APVD | Gvliel-mvn | Rovill. | M.D.LXVI.

The title and all the pages are surrounded by borders of engravings on wood.

Colophon: FINIS.

Collation copy: In the public library, Munich. *Other copies:* At Berlin I., Gotha D., Keir, Lucca, Modena Pal., Munich U., and Saragossa U.

8vo VOL., 18.1 *centim.* × 12.2, or 7.12 Eng. *in.* × 4.8; *full pages* and *devices*, as in the earlier editions, Nos. 31, 32, 47, 48. &c.

Register: A–O in 8s, P 4=116 leaves or 232 pages; numbered 1–226; unnumbered 5; blank 1=232.

Contents: pp. 3–5, "Ad Lectorem;" p. 6, "Ad Ch. Peutingerum;" pp. 7–212, Emblems 197; pp. 213–226, Trees 14; on 5 pages, Index.

The emblems are 211; the devices, also 211, from the old blocks; the impressions poor.

76. OMNIA | D. AND. ALCIATI | EMBLEMATA | AD QVAE SINGVLA, PRAETER | concinnas acutáſque inſcriptiones, lepidas & ex- | preſſas imagines, ac caetera omnia, quae | prioribus noſtris editionibus cúm ad | eorum diſtinctionem, tum ad | ornatum & correctionem | adhibita continebantur, | *Nunc primùm perelegantia perſubtiliáq; adiecta ſunt* | ΕΠΙΜΥΘΙΑ, *quibus Emblematum ampli-* | *tudo quaecunq; in iis dubia sunt* | *aut obſcura, tanquam perſpi-* | *cuis illuſtrantur.* (Typographic mark, *An eagle seated on a globe,*

with two serpents having their heads approaching the eagle; on the left, "IN VIRTVTE;" on the right, "ET FORTVNA.") LVGDVNI, | Apud Gulielmum Rouillium,. | Sub ſcuto Veneto. | 1566.

Collation copy: In the library at Bâle. *Other copies* not acknowledged; but the edition is *named* by Brunet, vol. i. p. 148, and is in Bernd's list.

8vo VOL., 12.3 *centim.* × 8., or 4.84 Eng. *in.* × 3.14; *full pages*, 10.8 *centim.* × 6.6, or 4.25 *in.* × 2.59; *devices*, 5.5 *centim.* to 6.2 × 6.3 to 6.5, or 2.16 *in.* to 2.44 × 2.48 to 2.55.

Register: A–R in 8s = 136 leaves or 272 pages; numbered 1–260; unnumbered 9; blank 3 = 272 pages.

Contents: pp. 3–5, "Ad Lectorem;" p. 6, "Præfatio ad Ch. Peutingerum;" pp. 7–238, Emblems; pp. 239–260, Trees; on 9 pages, "Index Emblematvm."

77. EMBLEMATA | ANDREÆ ALCIA- | TI, I. V. DOCTORIS CLARIS- | SIMI. POSTREMO AC VLTIMO AB | ipſo authore recognita, imaginibuſq; vi- | uis ac lepidis denuo artificioſiſ- | ſimè illuſtrata. | ADIECTA SVNT INSVPER PERELE- | *gantia ac docta Epimythia, ſeu affabulationes, in* | *quibus Emblematum amplitudo & quæ in iis* | *dubia vel obſcura ſunt, perſpicuè* | *declarantur.* (Feyerabend's device, *Fame with a trumpet in each* hand.) FRANCOFVRTI AD MOENVM | M.D.LXVII.

Colophon: "IMPRESSVM FRANCOFVRTI | AD MOENVM, APVD GEORGIVM COR- | *uinum, ſumptibus Sigiſmundi Feyerabendt* | *& Simonis Huteri.*" (The device of the title-page repeated.) *M.D.LXVII.*

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* At Berlin I., British Museum, Copenhagen R., Darmstadt D., Dresden R., Edinburgh,? Einsiedeln, the Hague R., Munich Pub. and

U., Stuttgart R., and Vienna I. *Named* by Bernd 1830, p. 80; Weigel, No. 19464; *Cat. du Roy*, vol. ii. p. 154, No. 1502.

8vo Vol., 6.14 *in.* × 3.93; *full pages*, 5. × 2.67; *devices*, 2.08 × 2.67.

Register: Initial 8 leaves, including title; then 209 leaves; colophon 1 leaf; total 218 leaves or 436 pages.

Contents: At a 2 in 8 pp., "Epistola Nuncupatoria;" "Virtute et profundarum rerum cognitione ornatissimo viro, Domino Stephano Pruhtal, in clarissima Republica Norimbergensi Arithmeticæ & Orthographiæ professori publico, domino & amici sui obseruando;" "Datæ Francoforti ad Mœnum 15 Martij 1567;" "Sigismundus Feirabend Bibliopola." In 6 pp., "Index Emblematvm;" folio 1–209, "Andreæ Alciati Emb.;" colophon and blank.

The emblems, numbered i–ccxi, have the usual titles or mottoes, devices and Latin stanzas, but each is followed by a "Svmma." The arrangement, differing from most of the former editions, is like that of the Frankfort Latin and German 1566, No. 73.

The devices, 128 only, are from the same blocks as the German and Latin edition 1566, but do not agree with them either in the number or the numbering.

The South Kensington *Art Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 15, and R. Weigel, No. 19464, attribute the woodcuts to Virg. Solis, but both enumerate 194 devices. Weigel says: "They were unknown to Bartsch." M. Van der Helle's *Catalogue*, Paris 1866, No. 1611, speaks of a copy "ornamented with charming figures on wood."

78. Emblematvm | clarissimi viri D. | Andreæ Alcati (*sic*) | Libri ii. | Addita sunt aliquot in altero | libro figuræ. | (Plantin's *device* and *motto.*) Antverpiæ. | Ex officina Christophori Plantini. | cIↃ.lↃ.lxvii. | Cvm Privilegio.

Colophon: "Excvdebat Christo- | phorvs Plantinvs | Antverpiæ."

Collation copy: From the library, Thingwall. *Other copy:* At Verona. *Named* in *Cat. du Roy*, vol. ii. p. 154, No. 1501.

16mo Vol., 4.64 *in.* × 3.14; *full pages*, 3.74 × 2.16; *devices*, 1.37 × 1.88.

Register: A–K in 8s=80 leaves or 160 pages; numbered 1–158; last leaf unnumbered=160 pages.

Contents: p. 2, "Svmma Privilegii," "Data Bruxellæ xxvi Maij Anno Domini M.D.LXIIII;" p. 3, "Clarissimi viri D. Andreae Alciati in svorvm Emblematum libros præfatio ad eximium atque egregie doctum D. Chonradum Peutingerum virum patricium," &c.; the Latin stanza of 10 lines, "Ad D. Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum;" pp. 3–116, "Emblematvm Liber primvs," Emb. i–cxiii; pp. 117–158, "Emblematvm Liber secvndvs," Emb. i–lxxxv. To book I. there are 109 devices; to book II. only 22.

The 198 emblems have each of them a motto and stanza in Latin; and 131 of them have devices.

For the 131 devices many of the wood-blocks were the same as were used in the Antwerp editions 1565, No. 71; 1566, No. 72; and in the Paris edition 1562, No. 67.

To the collation made in Verona, July 4th 1870, is appended this observation:

"Dans le 1er livre les Nos. lv, lxi, lxxxiiii, xc des emblèmes manquent des figures, et dans le 2 livre on ne compte que 23 figures parmi les 85 emblèmes qui y sont registrés."

Though the *Annales Plantiniennes* 1865, under the year 1567, names *five* other emblem-books printed by Plantin, this edition of Alciati has been omitted.

79. ["Les Emblemes d'Alciat . . . . (*Aneau's translation.*) Paris, 8vo. 1570."]

Authority: This edition is recorded in Bernd's *Allg. Schriftenkunde*, vol. i. p. 81. Probably it may have proceeded from De Marnef's press; see No. 65.

80. LES | EMBLEMES | DE M. ANDRE | ALCIAT. | Traduits en rithme Françoiſe par Jean de Feure. | (Typographic mark, *A cartouche, surrounded by a double ring formed by two serpents;* motto, "QVOD TIBI FIERI NON VIS ALTERI

NE FECERIS.") A LYON, | PAR JEAN DE TOVRNES, | IMPRIMEVR DV ROY. | M.D.LXX.

Colophon: None.

Collation copy: In the library of H. R. H. the duc *d'Aumale* 27th June 1870. *Other copy:* At the Dresden R.

16mo VOL., 11.2 *centim.* × 7.1, or 4.4 Eng. *in.* × 2.79; *full pages*, 8. *centim.* × 6., or 3.14 *in.* × 2.36; *device plates*, 3.7 *centim.* × 5, or 1.45 *in.* × 1.96.

Register: A–H in 8s = 64 leaves or 128 pages; numbered 1–127; *one* blank = 128 pages.

Contents: pp. 3–9, "A tres haut & puissant Seignevr, Monseignevr, Messire Philippe Chabot, Chevalier de l'ordre .... Jean de Feure Secretaire de Monseigneur le reverendissime Cardinal de Giury, dit humble salut.;" p. 10, "L'acteur des translations;" p. 11, "Preface dv Livret des Bigarreures du luysant homme André Alciat, faicte à maistre Conrad Peutinger d'Auspurg;" pp. 12–127, Emblems CX.

Observations: The woodcuts are not encompassed by borders. The figures are in the style of Le Petit Bernard. No monogram or engraver's mark.

81. ["Omnia AND. ALCIATI emblemata, cum enarratione CLAUD. MINOIS, excerpta ex ejusdem in eadem emblemata commentariis. *Parisiis*, Dion. à Prato. 1571, in 4to."]

Authority: The *Cat. du Roy*, Paris 1750, *Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 154, No. 1503. Also M. Cocheris, of the Mazarine library, Paris, 21st May 1870, mentions that a copy of this edition is there.

Brunet, vol. i. col. 148, speaking of the Paris 4to edition 1571, says:

"Qui a été ré-impr. à Anvers, en 1574, en 1577, et en 1584, en 16°."

And Graesse's *Trésor de Livres rares et précieux*, vol. i. p. 62:

"La meilleure édition des Emblèmes d'Alciat, commentés par Cl. Mignault et publiés aussi: *Paris* 1571, en 4°; *Antv.* 1574,

1582, en 16°; 1577 en 8° (⅔th. R. Weigel.)" .... "Le graveur est connu par le monogramme A (Adam van Oort?)"

These editions are important steps in showing how the designs for the figures, if not the woodcuts themselves, passed from Paris to Antwerp.[69]

82. D. ANDREÆ | Alciati | Mediolanẽsis | Ivreconsvlti Clarissimi Lvcv-|brationvm Ivs civile et | Pontificvm. | Tomus vi. et ultimus, | Quo Commentaria in Pandectarvm Codicis, et decre-|talivm, *aliquot Titulos, tertia abhinc pagina enumera-|tos comprehenduntur* | et | Emblematvm libellvs ab Auctore poſtremùm recognitus, et Emble- | matibus nonnullis auctus. | (Printer's device, *A palm;* motto, "palma gvar.") Basileæ. Anno m.d.lxxi.

Colophon: "Basileæ, | per Thomam Gvarinvm anno salvtis humanæ, | cıↃ.ıↃ. lxxi."

The whole work is in *six* folio volumes, of which vol. 6 contains the emblems.

Collation copy: In the library of Rimini, 4th August 1870. *Other copies:* Bâle, Cambridge U., Königsberg, and Pisa U. *Named* by Brunet, vol. i. col. 149.

Folio Vol., 37.5 *centim.* × 24.5, or 14-76 Eng. *in.* × 9.64. Every page is in double columns, and the emblems are *nude*, or without figures.

Contents: At columns 1230–1260, "Clarissimi Viri Andreæ Alciati in Librum primum Emblematum Præfatio ad Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum;" then, "Emblemata | Andreæ Alciati | Ab ipso Auctore recognita, ac | novis aliquot Emblematibus aucta."

N.B. The return from the library at Bâle dates the edition 1570.

[69] See our *Life of Alciati*, pp. 83, 84, 87, for remarks on Dion à Prato's edition, 1571.

83. ["D. And. Alciati Emblemata . . . . . Lugd. Rovillius. 8vo, 1572."]

Authority: In a return from Einsiedeln by M. T. G. Morel, the librarian there, are included returns from several other libraries of Switzerland, and among them one from Besançon in France. This library at Besançon he credits with possessing the above-named edition of Alciati's emblems. No where else acknowledged.

84. OMNIA | ANDREÆ | ALCIATI V. C. | EMBLEMATA | ADIECTIS COMMENTARIIS | & ſcholiis, in quibus Emblematum | fermè omnium aperta origine, mens | auctoris explicatur, & obſcura omnia, | dubiaque illuſtrantur; | PER CLAVDIVM MINOIM | Diuionenſem. | (Plantin's *device* and *motto.*) ANTVERPIÆ, | Ex officina Chriſtophori Plantini, | Architypographi Regii. | M.D.LXXIII.

Collation copy: From the library at Thingwall. *Other copies:* At S. Gall, and Munich Pub. *Named* by Brunet and Mazzuchelli. 16mo VOL., 4.72 *in.* × 2.9; *full pages*, 3.93 × 2.16; *devices*, 1.37 × 1.38.

Register: A–Z and a–m in 8s, ⁂ 8 and ⁂ 7 = 295 leaves or 590 pages; 1–559 numbered; final 31 not numbered = 590 pages.

Contents: p. 2, "Svmma Privilegii;" pp. 3–9, "Reuerendo in Christo patri ac D. D. Annæ Cœnobii benigniani Diuion. & Pulteriarum Antistiti meritiss. Clavdivs Minos S.," "Lutetiæ Calend. Decembr. 1571;" pp. 10–12, Greek and Latin complimentary verses; pp. 13–28, "Clavdivs Minos Divionensis, Lectori studioso & candido;" pp. 29–32, "Qvid Emblema sit, & quæ eius ratio;" pp. 33–36, Alciat's preface with comments; pp. 37–520, "Emblemata cum commentariis;" pp. 521–559, "Additio ad comment. in Emblemata;" p. (560), "Christoph. Plantinvs Cl. Minoi suo," "Antverpiæ Postrid. Iduum Septemb. M.D.LXXII. Sig. ⁂ 1–3, "Emblematum Index in locos communes;" ⁂ 3–⁂⁂ 6, "Index rerum et verborum;" ⁂⁂ 7, "Animaduersa, Errata," &c.

The emblems and trees, 197 + 15 = 212, by mistake printed 213, have mottoes, devices and Latin stanzas, and Mignault's comments, very learned and full.

The devices, there being none for the trees, are neat little woodcuts, numbering 168, leaving 29 *nude* emblems. For emblem cxcvi, p. 501, the wrong device has been inserted.

The engravings in this edition appear to have been imitated in the Geneva edition of 1614.

From Plantin's letter of apology (p. 560) it appears that the notes of Claude Mignault were now for the first time published.

The *Plantinian Annals* do not record this edition under the year 1573; but in 1574, p. 152, conjecture that there was such an edition.

For an account of Claude Mignault see Alciati's *Life*, pp. 92–94. "We owe to him learned notes on various ancient authors." [70]

85. FRANCISCI | SANCTII BRO- | CENCIS | In inclyta Sarmaticenſi Academia Rheto- | ricæ, Græcæque linguæ Profeſſoris, | COMMENT. IN AND. ALCIATI | EMBLEMATA, | *Nunc denuo multis in locis accuratè recognita* | *& quam plurimis figuris illuſtrata.* | *Cum Indice copioſiſsimo.* | (Roville's device, *Eagle on globe and pillar, and two serpents;* motto, "IN VIRTVTE | ET FORTVNA.") | LVGDVNI, | APVD GVLIEL. ROVILLIVM. *M.D.LXXIII.* | Cum priuilegio Regis.

Colophon: "FINIS."

Collation copies: From the libraries of Keir and Thingwall, and in the library of Rimini. *Other copies:* At the Bodleian, Leon Old Castile, Madrid N., Milan Amb., Naples N., Saragossa, and Strasbourg *fuit.* *Named* by Delandine, vol. ii. p. 180; Bernd's *List*, pp. 80, 81; Graesse; and *Cat. du Roy*, Paris 1750, vol. ii. p. 154, No. 1504.

[70] See Delandine's *Bib. de Lyons*, vol. ii. p. 180.

8vo Vol., 6.92 *in.* × 4.33; *full pages*, with marginal notes, 5.31 × 3.34; *devices*, about 2.36 × 2.48.

Register: A–Z, Aa–Nn, in 8s, Oo in 4 = 292 leaves or 584 pages; 1–558 numbered; final 26 unnumbered = 584 pages.

Contents: p. 2, "Extraict du priuilege du Roy;" "Blois le premier de May, l'an de grace mil cinq cent soixante douze;" pp. 3, 4, "Illustrissimo Domino Martino ab Azpilcveta Navaro, Decretorum Doctori, Gulielmus Rovillius S;" "E musæolo nostro, decimo sexto Calend. Ianuarii 1573;" pp. 5–9, notes on the "Præfatio ad Chõradum Peutingerũ Augustanum;" pp. 9–588, "Comment. in And. Alciati Emblem;" the emblems counting ccxi. In 24 pages, "Index praecipvorvm, qvae his commentariis habentur;" on 1 page, "Errata."

The emblems, i–ccxi, have motto, device, Alciati's Latin text, and the commentaries of Sanctius, which are good and to the purpose.

The devices, without borders, are for the most part from the same blocks as those which Roville employed in his editions 1548–1564; they are considerably worn, though probably retouched.

Of this commentator Delandine observes, vol. ii. p. 180:

"The Spaniard, Francis Sanctius or Sanchez, distinguished himself by his profound knowledge of the Latin language."

See our *Life of Alciati*, p. 92. There is a life of Sanctius in his *Works*, 8vo, Geneva 1766.

86. Emblemes | d'Alciat, en la- | tin et françois | vers pour | vers | *Augmentez de plusieurs Emblemes en Latin* | *du dict Autheur, traduictz nouuelle-* | *ment en Françoys.* | Ordonnez par lieux communs, auec brief- | ues expositiõs, & enrichis de plusieurs | figures non encore imprimées | par cy devant. | *Auec la Table d'iceux mise à la fin.* | (Printer's mark,[71] *A pelican and its young;* motto, "IN ME MORS | IN ME VITA.") |

[71] See Sylvestre's *Marques Typographiques*, No. 332, and Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. i. col. 810.

A Paris. | *De l'Imprimerie de Hierofme de Marnef, et* | *Guillaume Cauellat au mont S. Hilaire* | *à l'enfeigne du Pelican.* | 1573.

Colophon: Another of De Marnef's badges, *A griffin holding a weight and winged ball;*[72] motto, "VIRTVTE DVCE| CRESCIT FORTVNA."

Collation copy: In the library of Le Mans, France. *Other copies:* At Geneva, and Mr. *W. Bates's*, Birmingham. *Named* in Amateur's *Catalogue*, August 14th 1869.

8vo VOL., 11.2 *centim.*×7.9, or 4.4 Eng. *in.*×3.11; *full pages*, 9.3 *centim.*×5.1, or 3.66 *in.*×2.66; *devices*, 3.6 *centim.*×5, or 1.41 *in.*×1.96.

Register: A–Y in 8s=176 leaves or 352 pages; numbered 1–332; unnumbered 13; blank 7; total 352.

Contents: p. 2, "Bibliopola Lectori;" p. 3, "Clariss. viri Andr. Alciati, &c., ad Chonradum Peutingerum;" p. 4, "Préface du noble homme Seigneur André Alciat sur les Emblèmes a Chonrad Peutinger d'Ausbourg;" pp. 5–304, Emblèmes (197 not numbered;) pp. 305–332, Arbores (14 not numbered); in 22 pages, "Index Emblematum in locos communes digestorum."

Observations: There are no monograms or engraver's marks; neither are there borders, but at the foot of 60 pages there are little ornaments.

87. OMNIA | ANDREÆ | ALCIATI V. C. | EMBLEMATA. | ADIECTIS COMMENTARIIS | & fcholiis, in quibus Emblematum | ferme omnium aperta origine, mens | auctoris explicatur, & obfcura omnia, | dubiaque illuftrantur. | PER CLAVDIVM MINOEM | Diuionenfem. | (Plantin's *device* and *motto.*) ANTVERPIÆ, | Ex officina Chriftophori Plantini, | Architypographi Regij. | M.D.LXXIIII.

[72] See our *Catalogue*, No. 65; Sylvestre's *Marq. Typ.*, No. 748; and Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. v. col. 85.

Collation copy: In the Bodleian library, (Douce, A 343). *Other copies:* At Besançon, Bruges (M. *Bethune*), Einsiedeln, S. Gall, South Kensington *Catalogue*, and Strasbourg *fuit.* *Named* by Brunet, Graesse, Weigel, *Cat. du Roy*, Paris 1750, vol. ii. p. 154, No. 1505, *Annales Plant.*, p. 152.[73]

16mo Vol., 5.03 *in.* × 3.26; *full pages*, 3.93 × 2.16; *devices*, 1.37 × 1.88.

Register: A–Z and a–m in 8s, ⁂8 ⁂⁂7 = 295 leaves or 590 pages; numbered 1–559; unnumbered 31 = 590 pages.[74]

Contents: Exactly the same with edition 1573, No. 84, there being the same misprint of 213 emblems for 212.

Douce, A 343, is inaccurate in naming this the first edition by Cl. Mignault; see our *Catalogue*, No. 84. He says:

"Many of the cuts are close copies from those in the editions printed by Marnef and Jean de Tournes. Others are quite original. They were certainly done by Anthony Van Leest of Antwerp.[75] A broken block on p. 489. This," he adds, "is the first edition by Cl. Mignault, and is extremely rare. Clement is the only bibliographer that knew of it; the rest supposed Mignault first published his edition in 1583, or in 1587. See Goujet's *Bibl. Franc.*, tom. vii. p. 84; and Desmolet's *Mem. de. litt.*, tom. vi. pp. 200, 204."

Mazzuchelli's remarks on the whole subject manifest careful research;[76] they are these:

"Claude Mignault, a Frenchman, who in Latin wished to be called *Minos*, exhorted by a monk of S. Benigno at Dijon, his friend, by name Legier Bontemps, was perhaps the first who took to commentaries on Alciati's emblems, also writing his Life. The first impression was really made at Antwerp by Plantin only in 1574, in 16mo, — a time at which already had been issued Commentaries on these Emblems by Francisco Sanchez, a Spaniard, which were published at Lyons in 1573, in 8vo; but it is to be observed that as soon as 1571 Mignault had written his own (commentaries), as appears from his dedicatory Letter addressed to Anna d'Escars, Abbot of S. Benigno of Dijon, dated from Paris

[73] The editors say that this edition ought to have appeared earlier than 1574, and so it did; (see our *Catalogue*, No. 83): but they have omitted to state that Plantin excuses himself for the delay.

[74] The collation from Strasbourg makes 296 leaves and 592 pages.

[75] See our *Life of Alciati*, p. 84.

[76] *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 366.

the first of December 1571, which seems afterwards to be omitted in the greater part of the later impressions."

88. ["Les Emblémes de M. Andre Alciat de nouueau trāſlatez, &c. A Lyon, chez G. Rouille. 12mo. 1574."]

Authority: When speaking of Aneau's French version by Roville, Lyons 1549, — in our *Catalogue* No. 39, — Graesse, in his *Trésor*, says:

"Il y en a une réimpression de 1558 et 1574 en 16. Av. fig. en bois."

This single authority is not decisive, but the probability is great.

89. OMNIA | D. AND. ALCIATI | EMBLEMATA AD | quæ ſingula | præter con- | cinnas acutaſque inſcriptiones, lepidas et expreſſas | imagines, ac cætera omnia, quę prioribus no- | ſtris editionibus cùm ad eorū diſtinctio- | nem, tum ad ornatum & correc- | tionem adhibita con- | tinebantur. | *Nunc primùm perelegantia perſubtiliaque adiecta ſunt* | ΕΠΙΜΥΘΙΑ, *quibus Emblematum ampli-* | *tudo, & quæcunque in iis dubia ſunt* | *aut obſcura, tanquam perſpicuis* | *illuſtrantur.* | (Typographical mark, *An eagle on a globe with the wings open, and two serpents below;* the motto, "IN VIRTVTE | ET FORTVNA." | LVGDVNI, | APVD GVLIEL. ROVILLIVM. | 1574.

Colophon: "FINIS."

Collation copies: In the libraries of Naples N. and of S. Mark,

Venice, and of the rev. *G. S. Cautley.* *Named* in Bernd's *List*, 1830, vol. i. p. 80.

12mo Vol., about 12. *centim.* × 8., or 4.72 Eng. *in.* × 3.14; *full pages*, 10.2 *centim.* × 6.3, or 4.01 *in.* × 2.48; *device plates*, about 6. *centim.* × 6.4; or 2.36 *in.* × 2.51.

Register: A–R in 8s = 136 leaves or 272 pages; numbered 1–260; unnumbered 9; blank 3 = 272.

Contents: pp. 3–5 "Ad Lectorem;" p. 6, the usual "Præfatio" to Con. Peutinger; pp. 7–238, Emblemata, cxcvii; pp. 230–260, Arbores, xiv; on 9 pages, "Index Emblematum," &c.

To the emblems and trees, in count 211, are usually appended short Latin notes.

Observation: Without any monogram or engraver's mark.

For earlier editions with the word ***ΕΠΙΙΜΤΘΙΑ*** in the title-page, see edition 1566, No. 76, and edition 1567, No. 77.

90. EMBLEMES | d'Alciat, en La- | tin et Francoys | vers povr | vers | *Augmentez de plusieurs Emblemes en Latin* | *du dict Autheur, traduictz nouuelle-* | *ment en Francoys.* | Ordonnez par lieux communs auec brief- | ues expositiõs, & enrichis de plusieurs | figures non encore imprimées | par cy deuant. | *Auec la Table d'iceux mise à la fin* | (Printer's device, *Pelican and young;* motto, "in me mors, | in me vita.") | *A Paris.* | *De l'imprimerie de Hierosme de Marnef, &* | *Guillaume Cauellat au mont S. Hilaire* | *à l'enseigne du Pelican.* | 1574.

Colophon: Printer's device, *A griffin grasping a squared stone and winged ball*; motto, "virtvte dvce | crescit fortvna."

Collation copy: From the library, Thingwall. *Other copy:* At the Bodleian (*Douce*, A 345).

16mo Vol., 4.52 *in.* × 2.75; *full page*, about 3.93 × 2.04; *device plates*, 1.41 × 1.88.

Register: A–X in 8s, Y in 6 = 174 leaves or 348 pages; numbered 1–332; final 16 unnumbered = 348.

Contents: p. 2, "Bibliopola lectori S.;" p. 3, "Præfatio ad Ch. Peutingerum;" p. 4, translation of do.; pp. 5–332, "Emblemata," arranged in subjects, Latin and French; at the end in 12 pp., "Index Emblematvm," &c.; colophon and 3 blank pages.

The emblems, with 14 trees, number 211, and are arranged so as to give, first, the motto, device, and Latin stanza and comment; and secondly, the French motto, stanza and comment.

Many of the 211 devices are close imitations of those in Stockhamer's edition 1556, No. 59, but the arrangement is according to the subjects, beginning with emblems dedicatory, and ending with the 14 trees. The woodcuts are well executed.

The Latin is not Stockhamer's, nor the French Le Fevre's, but the Latin from the Lyons edition 1551, and the French from Aneau's Lyons edition 1549.

91. DIVERSE IMPRE- | SE ACCOMMODATE A | diuerſe moralità, cō verſi | che i loro ſignificati dichia- | rano, inſieme con molte | altre nella lingua Italiana | non più tradotte. | *Tratte da gli Emblemi* | *dell'* ALCIATO. | *IN LIONE* | *APPRESSO* | GVLIELMO | ROVIL- | LIO. | *M.D.LXXVI.*

The title is within an emblematical border. The collation return from Florence says: "The design is fine, but the execution bad."

Collation copies: In the National library, Florence, and in the Communal and Archiepiscopal library, Bologna. *Other copies:* None reported.

8vo Vol., 19. *centim.* × 12., or 7.48 Eng. *in.* × 4.72; *full pages*, including borders, 16. *centim.* × 10., or 6.29 *in.* × 3.93; *devices*, 6. *centim.* × 6.3, or 2.36 *in.* × 2.48.

Register: A–M in 8s = 96 leaves or 192 pages; numbered 1–191; blank 1 = 192 pages.

Contents: p. 2, "Extraict du Priuilege du Roy," "à Mascon le ix. d'Aoust, M.D.XLVIII.;" p. 3, "Al Sereniss. M. Francisco Donato Illustriss. Principe di Vinegia Servitor di V. Sublimità Giovanni

Marquale;" p. 4, "Al Lettore;" pp. 5–186, "Imprese clxix;" pp. 181–191, "Arbori xi."

Both the Imprese and the Arbori are arranged in the same order as in Roville's Italian edition 1551, in our *Catalogue* No. 50. Except page 2, all the pages have borders; and the return from Bologna reports that the monogram P. V. is borne by the plates on pp. 16, 26, 34, 35, 39, 50, 65, 73, 83, 91, 113, 124, 125, 129, 133, 147, 150, 159, 161, 177, 179, 187 and 188. By reference to the return for edition 1551, No. 50, it will be seen that the P. V. monogram occupied very different pages in 1551.

92. ["Omnia Andreæ Alciati V. C. Emblemata . . . . . Antv. 8vo. 1576."]

Authority: Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 367. On the other hand, the *Annales Plantiniennes* do not register in 1576 any edition of Alciati's emblems; but then, as we have seen before, such editions have been omitted: and it may be noted that for the year 1576 the entries of editions of all kinds from the Plantin press amount only to eighteen.

93. OMNIA | ANDREÆ | ALCIATI V. C. | EMBLEMATA: | CVM COMMENTARIIS, QVIBVS | Emblematum omnium aperta origine, mens | auctoris explicatur, & obscura omnia du- | biaque illustrantur. | PER CLAVDIVM MINOEM | *Diuionensem.* | (Plantin's *device* and *motto.*) ANTVERPIÆ, | Ex officina Christophori Plantini, | Architypographi Regii. | M.D.LXXVII. | CVM PRIVILEGIO.

The title is surrounded by a broad ornamental border.

Colophon: "ANTVERPIÆ EXCVDEBAT CHRI- | STOPHORVS PLANTINVS ARCHI- | TYPOGRAPHVS REGIVS, ANNI | M.D.LXXVII. MENSE IVLIO."

Collation copy: Presented to Mr. *Green* by M. *C. Ch. Bethune* of Bruges. *Other copies:* At Aberdeen U., Aarau, Augsburg, Bruges G. Sem., Gotha D., Lincoln's Inn, Madrid N., Munich Pub., Siena, Stuttgart, duc *d'Aumale*, and Mr. *Corser*. *Named* by Brunet, vol. i. col. 148, and Bernd's *List*, p. 80.

8vo Vol., 6.69 *in.* × 4.17; *full pages*, 5.4 × 3.4; *devices*, with the borders, 2.97 × 2.9.

Register: A–Z and a–z in 8s=368 leaves or 736 pages; numbered 1–732; (733) blank; (734) colophon; and 2 blank=736 pages.

Contents: p. 2, "Svmma Privilegii;" pp. 3–8, "Reverendo in Christo Patri ac D.D. Annae, Coenobij Benigniani ac Pulteriarum meritiss. Antistiti, Clavdivs Minos. S.;" "Lutetiæ, Calend. Decemb. M.D.LXXI.;" pp. 9, 10, Laudatory epigram in 16 Greek and 16 Latin lines, by Gulonius;" pp. 11–15, five laudatory Latin epigrams and odes on Mignault's commentaries; pp. 16–28, "Clavdivs Minos Divionenses, Lectori stvdioso et candido;" pp. 29–43, "Syntagma de Symbolis;" pp. 44–46, "Clariss. Viri Andr. Alciati in Librvm Emblematum Præfatio, ad Chonradum Peutingerum Augustanum," in 10 lines Latin verse, and the comment; pp. 49–639, Emblemata, i–cxcvii; pp. 640–671, Arbores, cxcviii–ccxi (misprinted ccxiii); pp. 672–685, "Interpretatio Græcorvm," &c.; pp. 686–690, "Index Emblematvm;" pp. 691–712, "Index rervm et verborvm;" pp. 713–732, "Ad Alciati Emblemata Lavdatio vice præfationis ad Emblematum explanationem. *Habita Lutetiæ in regia Burgundionum schola 9. Kalend. Maias.* 1576;" p. (734), colophon.

To each of the 197 devices for the emblems there are very pretty lace-like borders, which will be found in some of Plantin's later editions. The 14 trees are drawn on a larger scale, but are without borders.

It is strange that this, one of the best editions of Alciati's emblems from the Antwerp press, is not included in the *Annales Plantiniennes* for the year 1557; neither is the 16mo edition of the same year, which we are about to mention as No. 94 of our *Catalogue.*

It may be noted that Mignault's laudation of Alciati's emblems, spoken as an oration in Paris May 1576, was published at Antwerp July 1577.

Brunet, vol. i. col. 148, testifies thus to the designs:

"The woodcuts which decorate this volume are not less good than those of the Lyonnese editions."

The monogram A is found on the plates i, ii, iii, iiii, v, vi, xvii, xviii, xxi, xxii and xxvii. The *Annales Plantiniennes*, p. 42, assign this A to Assuerus Van Londerzeel, who flourished from 1555 to 1579;[77] but the fact is questioned. The plates of this 1577 Antwerp edition are identical with, and we may say, the progenitors of, those in edition 1581; and, excepting of course the plates signatured A, the plates of edition 1581[78] belong to Virgilius Solis.

94. ["Omnia Andreæ Alciati V. C. Emblemata. *Antverpiæ*, Plantin. 16mo. 1577."]

Authority: Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. i. col. 148, which says that à Prato's Paris 4to edition 1571 (our No. 81) was reprinted at Antwerp, 16mo, in 1574, 1577 and 1582. The absence of this edition from the *Plantinian Annals* (see our No. 92) cannot be pleaded in objection; Plantin's earliest essays, in 1565, 1566, 1567 and 1573, on Alciati's emblems, were editions of small size; and from his office sometimes issued in the same year, or in following years, an edition in 8vo, and another in 16mo or even 24mo.

The return made to me from Munich university library records this 16mo edition of 1577.

95. DIVERSE IMPRE- | SE ACCOMMODATE A | DIUERSE moralità cō verſi | che i loro ſignificati dichia- | rano inſieme con molte | altre nella lingua Italiana | non piu tradotte. | *Tratte dagli Emblemi* | *dell'* ALCIATO. | IN LIONE, | *APPRESSO* | GVLIELMO | ROVIL- | LIO. | *M.D.LXXIX.*

The engraved border as in Roville's editions of 1549, 1551, 1564 and 1576.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* No return made.

[77] For a further account see our Alciati's *Life*, pp. 83, 84, 85, 86.

[78] See our Alciati's *Life*, pp, 85, 86.

8vo Vol., 7.08 *in.* × 4.52; *full pages*, including borders, about 6.3×4; *devices*, about 2.36×2.48.

Register: Pages numbered 1–191; blank 1; total 192.

Contents: The same with those of the Italian version, Lyons, 8vo, 1564; in our *Catalogue*, No. 70.

The emblems and devices, including trees, are each 180.

96. Liber Emblematvm | D. ANDREÆ AL-| ciati. nvnc denvo | collatis exemplaribvs | multô caſtigatior quàm vnquam | antehac editus. | Künſt-Buch | Andree Alciati von Meyland / bey- | den Rechten Doctorn/allen Liebhabern der | freyen Künſt/ auch Malern / Goldſchmiden / Seiden- | ſtickern und Bildhauwern/ jetz und zu ſonderm nutz und | gebrauch verteutſcht vnd an Tag geben, durch Jere- | miam Held von Nördlingen, mit ſchönen/lieb- | lichen/neuwen/ kunſtreichen Figuren | gezíert und gebeſſert. | (Device, *The figure of opportunity on a wheel.*) Gedruckt zu Franckfurt | am Mayn. / 1580.

Colophon: Getruckt zu Franckfurt am | Mayn / durch Nico- laum | Baſſee. | (Device, *Occasion on her wheel;* motto, "OCCASIO CALVA FRONTE CAPELLATA | EST POST HÆC." | M.D.LXXX.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* Besançon, Munich Pub., Munich U., and South Kensington. *Named* by Graesse and R. Weigel.

8vo Vol., 5.9 *in* × .3.7; *full pages*, 5.03 × 2.75; *devices*, 1.17 to 2.04 × 2.59.

Register: Including title, 13 leaves unnumbered; then 1–130 leaves numbered, and 6 unnumbered; total, 149 leaves.

Contents: Exactly the same with those of the edition of Raben in 1566, No. 74, except that some contracted words are in this edition printed in full, as at p. 130, "Haud quaquam," for "Haud quaquã." The devices in the titles and colophons also differ; but in other respects page follows page alike, and signature, signature. The woodcuts are from the blocks of edition 1566, No. 74.

97. Omnia | D. And. Alciati | Emblemata. Ad | qvæ ſingvla, | præter con- | cinnas acutaſque inſcriptiones, lepidas & expreſſas | imagines, ac cætera omnia, quæ prioribus no | ſtris editionibus cùm ad eorū diſtinctio- | nem, tum ad ornatum & correc- | tionem adhibita con- | tinebantur. | *Nunc primùm perelegantia, perſubtiliaque adiecta ſunt* | **ΕΠΙΜΥΘΙΑ**, *quibus Emblematum ampli-* | *tudo & quæcunque in ijs dubia ſunt* | *aut obſcura, tanquam perſpicuis* | *illuſtrantur.* | (Roville's *device* and *motto.*) Lvgdvni, | Apvd Gvliel. Rovillivm. | 1580.

Collation copy: In the Bodleian library, Douce, A 333. *Other copy*: At Keir.

8vo Vol., 4.76 *in.* × 3.26 ; *full pages* and *devices*, as in edition 1574, No. 89.

Register: As in No. 89.

Contents: Emblems and devices, 211, as in edition 1574, No. 89.

98. ["Omnia Andreæ Alciati V. C. Emblemata. . . . . 8vo. Lutetiæ, 1580."]

Authority: The answer, 16th May 1870, from the provincial library and institute of Huesca in Arragon. It was in reply to a request to note any edition of Alciati's emblems, in the library of Huesca, which had been included in the list of 151 editions. The answer adds that this Paris edition of 1580 was contained in 816 pages.

98 a. ["Omnia A. Alciati V. C. Emblemata. 8vo. Plantin. Antverp. 1580."]

Authority: An answer from the cantonal library of Aarau, Switzerland, May 1870, acknowledging that the title-page of the copy was missing, but that it was printed by "Plantin, Antwerp 1580," and that it contained "10 leaves unnumbered, and 782 pages."

The claim by the library of Aarau is however unfounded, and arose from the fact that Plantin's edition bearing on the title-page the year 1581, has on the last leaf, "Antverpiæ, excudebat Chr. Plantinus, architypographus regius, sub finem anni M.D.LXXX."

99. OMNIA | ANDREÆ | ALCIATI V. C. | EMBLEMATA : | CVM COMMENTARIIS QVIBVS | Emblematum omnium aperta origine, mens | auctoris explicatur, & obſcura omnia dubia- | que illuſtrantur. | PER CLAVDIVM MINOEM | *Divionenſem.* | Editio tertia aliis multo locupletior. | (Plantin's *sign* and *motto.*) ANTVERPIÆ, | Ex officina Chriſtophori Plantini, | Architypographi Regii. | M.D.LXXXI.

The title is surrounded by a fine border.

Colophon: "ANTVERPIÆ, EXCVDEBAT CHRISTO- | PHORVS PLANTINVS, ARCHITY- | POGRAPHVS REGIVS, SVB | FINEM ANNI, M.D.LXXX."

Collation copy: From the library at Thingwall. *Other copies:* Amiens, Augsburg, Berlin I., Cambridge U., Copenhagen R., Cracow U., Evora, the Hague R., Kiel, Keir, Madrid, Milan Amb., Munich Pub., Munich U., Oporto, Stuttgart R. and Verona.

8vo VOL., 6.49 *in.* × 4.44 ; *full pages*, with marginal notes, 5.51 × 3.54 ; *devices*, with borders, about 3.14 *inches* square.

Register: ⁂8, ⁂⁂4, A–Cc in 8s = 404 leaves or 808 pages ; initial 24 unnumbered; 1-782 numbered; 1 unnumbered; 1 blank ; total 808 pages.

Contents: pp. ⁂2–4, "Avgvstino Thvano Ioanni Gveslæo, et Barnabae Brissonio Regiæ procurationis in suprema Gallorum curia Triumuiris, sacrique consilii Senatoribus ;" "Stampis Idib. April. CIↃ.IↃ.LXXX ;" pp. ⁂4*v*–6, one Greek and four Latin stanzas, "De his in Alciati Emblemata commentariis"; pp. ⁂6*v* – ⁂⁂3, "Clavdivs Minos Diuionensis Lectori Stvdioso et candido ;" "Lutetiæ CIↃ.IↃ.LXXX. ;" p. ⁂⁂4, Scaliger's "Ivdicivm De Alciati Emblematis," and Gyraldus "De Poetis nostrorum temporum ;" pp.

1–13, "Syntagma De Symbolis;" pp. 13–15, "De Emblemate;" pp. 16–19, "Præfatio ad Chonradum Peutingerum," and comment; pp. 20–684–718, "Andreae Alciati Emblemata," i–ccxiii, *i.e.* correctly ccxi; pp. 719–732, "Interpretatio Græcorum;" pp. 733–736, "Emblematum Index in locos commvnes;" pp. 737–760, "Ad Alciati Emblemata Lavdatio, &c., 1576;" pp. 761–782, "Index Rervm et Verborum;" colophon.

The emblems, 211, are arranged as in the Minos editions of 1573, 1574 and 1577, Nos. 84, 87 and 93. The commentaries are fuller than they were in 1573 and 1574, and the devices there deficient are here (as in No. 93) supplied.

The devices, with neat borders, are the same as in edition 1577. The monogram A, assigned by some to Assuerus Van Londerzeel, occurs as in that edition; but, speaking of the edition of 1581, Graesse tells us the monogram A may be for Adam van Oort, and Weigel adopts the same probability.

The *Plantinian Annals*, as well as the title-page say the 1581 edition is the *third*, but there were three before, — 1573, 1574 and 1577; perhaps 1573 and 1574 were accounted *one*.

100. ["Alciati Emblemata . . . . . 8vo, Parisiis, 1581."]

Authority: Such an edition, "Parisiis typis Marnefii," is named in Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 367, but no other confirmation has been obtained.

101. ["Omnia And. Alciati emblemata . . . . 16mo. Plantin. Antverp. 1582."]

Authority: Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. i. col. 148; for, speaking of à Prato's Paris edition of 1571, he says, it has been reprinted in Antwerp in 1574, 1577 and 1582, in 16mo. Graesse's *Trésor*, vol. i. p. 62, confirms this statement.

102. D. Andreae | ALCIATI | Mediolanensis | Ivriscon. | Opera Omnia | in | Qvatvor Tomos legitimè digesta, na- | tiuo suo decori restituta

INDICE | locupletiſs. adaucta. | (Device, *The palm of Guarinus;* motto, "PALMA GVAR.") *Cum Cæſareæ Maieſt. ac Chriſtianiſs. Galliarum Regis priuilegijs ad annos decem.* | BASILEÆ, | APVD THOMAM GVARINVM. | M.D.LXXXII.

In 4 vols. FOLIO.— *In vol.* iv., *columns* 1098–1099:

"EMBLEMATA | ANDREAE ALCIATI | AB IPSO AVTORE RECO | GNITA, AC NOVIS ALIQVOT | EMBLEMATIBVS AVCTA | *CLARISSIMI VIRI ANDREÆ ALCIATI* | *in librum primum Emblematum præfatio* | Ad Chonradum Peutingerum Auguſtanum.

Dum pueros iuglans, iuuenes dum teſſera fallit," *&c.*

Colophon: At the foot of columns 1174-1175, "BASILEÆ | Ex officina Guariniana, anno ſalutis humanæ milleſimo | quingenteſimo octuageſimo ſecundo."

Collation copy: In the Chetham library, Manchester. *Other copies:* At Avignon, Bâle, Bodleian, Copenhagen R., Darmstadt Grand D., Dresden R., L'Escurial, Ferrara, Kiel, Liége, Milan Amb., Perugia, Schaffhausen, Toulouse, Turin U., Verona and Vienna I. *Named* by Audiffredi,[79] Brunet, vol. i. col. 149, and Graesse, vol. i. p. 62.

Folio VOL., 14.13 *in.* × 9.64; *full emblem page*, 12.04 × 7.04; *woodcuts*, 2.36 × 2.48.

Register: In vol. iv. for the emblems, AAAAa and BBBBb in 6s, CCCCc in 8s = 20 leaves; numbered by double columns 1098–1175.

Contents: On cols. 1096, 1097, "Candido Lectori Pardvlphvs Prateivs ivrisconsvltvs Avgusto buconias," "Lugduni quarto Nonas Iulias M.D.LIX.;" cols. 1098–1174, "Præfatio," as above; then "Emblematvm Dedicatio," 3 emblems; Devs, siue Religio, 5; VIRTVTES, Fides, 5; Prvdentia, 13; Jvstitia, 6; Fortitvdo, 5; Concordia, 5; Spes, 4; Pvdicitia, 1; VITIA, Perfidia, 7; Stvltitia, 11; Superbia, 4; Invidia, 1; Lvxvria, 8; Desidia, 4; Avaritia, 6; Gvla, 6; Doctorvm agnomina, 1; Natvra, 4; Astrologia, 4; Amor, 13; Fortvna, 13; Honor, 12; Princeps, 6; Respublica, 2; Vita, 2;

[79] See *Catalogus bib. Casanatensis*, Romæ 1761, vol. i. p. 90.

Mors, 6; Amicitia, 4; Hostilitas, 8; Vindicta, 5; Pax, 3; Scientia, 8; Ignorantia, 3; Matrimonivm, 8; Arbores, 14.

There are 211 emblems but only 209 devices, which are very good; from the same blocks as in Fradin's edition 1560, No. 64.

In the Bodleian copy the emblems are mentioned in the *Elenchus* to vol. iv. at the beginning of vol i., reference being made to "col. 1098 et inde;" but the emblems themselves are not to be found in that copy either in their proper place or elsewhere.

103. EMBLEMATA | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | I. C. CLARISS. | POSTREMO AB AVTORE | recognita, vivifq; imaginibus | artificioſiſſime illuſtrata. | *Adiuncta ſunt Epimythia quibus, quæ | obſcuriora videbantur ſunt | declarata.* | FRANCOFVRTI. | M.D.LXXXIII.

The border around the title-page is very fine, and has in the lower compartment a figure of *Occasion.*

Colophon: "IMPRESSVM FRANCOFVR- | TI AD MOENVM APVD | NICOLAVM BASSÆVM. | (Device, *Occaſion;* motto, 'OCCASIO CALVA FRONTE CAPILLATA | EST POST HÆC.' | M.D.LXXXIII."

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* At the Bodleian, Gotha D., and the Hague R. *Named* in Bernd's *Allgemeine Schriften-kunde,* 1830, p. 80.

8vo VOL., 5.94 *in.* × 3.7; *full pages,* 5.11 × 2.75; *devices,* from 1.17 *in.* to 2.04 × 2.59.

Register: Initial 8 leaves unnumbered; 1–209 numbered; colophon 1 leaf = 218 leaves.

Contents: A 2, "Epistola Nvncvpatoria," in 8 pages, "Nobili et clarissimo viro Dn. Iohanni Wolfgangi Freymenio, ab Obernhaussen, V. I. D. & Cæsareæ Maiestati à Consiliis, Domino suo reverenter colendo, S. P. D.;" "Anno Salutis Christianæ 1583;" "Nicolaus Bassæus, Typographus Francofordiensis;" Index in 6 pages; then 1–209 leaves, "Andreæ Alciati Emb.;" colophon 1 p.

The emblems, i–ccxi, have Epimythia, or applications, as in edition 1567, No. 77.

As in edition 1567 the devices are only 128, from the same blocks as those in editions 1566 and 1567, Nos. 74 and 77.

In his copy, A 398, at the Bodleian, Douce has written :

"Alciat's own emblem or device was Mercury's caduceus, with Amalthea's horn of plenty. See emblem lxv., Paul. Jovius on impreses Sign. c 76. The cuts to this edition were probably by Virgil Solis of Nuremburg ; and were not as far as I can find used for any other.

Fuller research shows that these woodcuts of Virgil Solis were used in the Francfort editions of 1566 and 1567, Nos. 74 and 77.

104. OMNIA | ANDREAE | ALCIATI V. C. | EMBLEMATA. | *Cum Commentariis, quibus Emblematum | omnium aperta origine, mens authoris | explicatur, & obſcura omnia du- | biaque illuſtrantur.* | PER CLAUDIUM MINOEM, | *Diuionenſem.* | Poſtrema hac editione in meliorē formam | redacta, & multis ſublatis mēdis, ſumma | cum diligentia exciſa. | (Device, *Pelican and her young;* motto, "IN ME MORS, | IN ME VITA.") | PARISIIS, Apud Hieronymum de Marnef, & Viduam | Gulielmi Cauillat sub Pelicano | monte D. Hilarij, 1583.

Colophon : A winged griffin ; above, "*Virtvtis et Gloriæ* ;" below, "*Comes invidia.*" On the verso of the last page but one, "Pariſiis, Excudebat Carolus Rogerivs, | Anno Domini | 1583 Octavo Cal. | Februarii."

Collation copy : From the library of the rev. *G. S. Cautley*, *Other copies :* At Amiens, Cambridge, S. John's, Copenhagen R., Le Mans, Modena Pal., Munich Pub., Munich U., Toulouse, Versailles, Winterthun.

8vo Vol., 6.88 *in* × .4.44; *full pages*, 5.59 × 3.54; *devices*, including border, 2.04 × 2.55.

Register: Initial 8 leaves, A–Z and Aa–Yy, in 8s = 368 leaves or 736 pages; initial 16 pp. unnumbered; 1–717 numbered; 2 unnumbered and 1 blank = 736 pages.

Contents: i, title; i *v*, blank; ij, "Augustino Thvano — Ioanni Greslaeo, et Barnabae Brissonio," &c.; iiij *v*, "Claudivs Minos divionensis, Lectori studioso & candido," "Lutetiæ 1580;" viij *v*, "Iulii Cæsaris Scaligeri ex lib. poeticis vi. de Alciati Emblematis Iudicium;" Sig. A, pp. 1–15, "Syntagma de Symbolis, Stimmatvm," &c.; pp. 16–658, "Emblemata;" pp. 657–672, "Græcorum Epigrammatvm," &c.; pp. 673–676, "Emblematvm Index," &c.; pp. 677–690, "Ad Alciati Emblemata Lavdatio;" pp. 691–717, "Index rerum et verborum," &c.

The emblems, i–cxcvii, followed by 14 trees, number 211.

The devices are very simple, plain affairs, with a little border, 1–211.

The cuts for this edition are attributed to Cousin, though from the mark ‡ said by Douce to be on some of them, Woeiriot has been mentioned as the engraver. See Alciati's *Life*, pp. 81, 82.

104 a. ["Emblemata Alciati . . . . . Paris. 8vo. 1583."]

Authority: An edition without a printer's name is spoken of by Mazzuchelli, and mentioned in Bernd's *List*, vol. i. p. 80. In the return from the Bodleian library such an edition was acknowledged, but not substantiated on further inquiry. And from the Mazarine library, Paris, the possession of an edition of 1583, without a printer's name, is reported. The evidence however is too weak to justify saying, that this is certainly an independent edition.

105. ["Alciati emblemata cum comment. Claudii Minois Divionenſis. Antverpiæ, ex off. Chriſt. Plantini. 1 vol. in 16. M.D.LXXXIII."]

Authority: The above title in the *Annales Plantiniennes*, p. 258, No. 25. A *copy* in the library of Besançon. *Named* in Bernd's *List*, vol. i. p. 80; by Mazzuchelli, vol. i. p. 367; and by Niceron, vol. x. p. 341.

106. ["Emblemata Andreæ Alciati I. C. Clarifs. Latino-gallica," &c. "Les Emblemes Latin-François du Seigneur Andre Alciat," &c. Paris, 16mo. 1583.]

Authority: Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. i. p. 149, after mentioning the translations of Alciati's emblems into French by Le Fevre and Aneau, says:

"We have another French translation of Alciat, better and more exact than the two preceding; it is that of Cl. Mignault, who caused it to be printed in Paris in 1583 and 1587, in 16mo, with the Latin text and woodcuts."

A *copy*, it is said, belongs to the library at Soleure.

The full title of this 1583 edition will appear under the Paris edition 1584, No. 107.

In the *Life of Alciati*, pp. 58, 60, and 92, 93, are some notices of Mignault himself. Of his translation, the Abbé Goujet writes with much fulness;[80] and here in our *Catalogue* where that translation is first mentioned, we may give the critic's judgment:

"Claude Mignault, whom Cardinal du Perron calls a man of immense reading and erudition, judged very soundly of the two translations of the emblems of Alciat of which I have just spoken. He well knew all their defects, and compelled himself to avoid them in whatever he has given of the same work. This translation, which is in verses of different measures, has never in fact any other faults than those of the language which has grown very old. The *Croix du Maine* places this translation in 1583. The author of the *Biblioth. des Ecrivains de Bourgogne* places it a little later; my copy bears the date of 1587.

"Mignault tells us in his *Avant-propos*, or Epistle of the Translator, dated from Estampes June 4, 1583, that since the preceding year he had worked at this version during the hours he was compelled to lose on the boat passing often from Estampes to Paris, to Corbeil, and thence to Estampes, having nothing better to do for pass-time and for refreshing his mind. He adds that he had read and re-read Alciati's work so many times, having given in 1574 an edition of the text with comments, that not only did he know it by

[80] *Biblioth. Franç.* Paris 1744. Tome iv. pp. 83–86.

heart but that he drew the very spirit from it, in order to make use of in things more grave and important.

"The repeated reading of Alciati's emblems had so inclined him to this work that he praises it to excess, and appears ready to be in a passion against those who do not discover all the beauties which he perceived in them; and how many did he not see? He speaks with more moderation of his version. If people find that it might have been more exact, he answers that he has done what he could, without otherwise pressing himself too much; for he had never been able to make any thing a matter of study which had come to him with trouble or caused him regret. 'If I have in some places,' he adds, 'been too free in constructing emblems with divers kinds of verse, or in using circumlocutions, I have done it in order to suit myself to the sentence which required it, and to render my author more intelligible.' A little after he said: 'Above all I have assigned myself the duty of speaking French without affectation or disguise, which I leave very willingly to our superficial writers, who have very much affectation and almost nothing natural.'"

107. Emblemata | Andreae Alciati | I. C. Clariſs. | Latino-gallica | unà cum ſuccinctis argumentis, quibus | Emblematis cuiuſque ſententia | explicatur. | Ad calcem Alciati vita. | Les Emblemes | Latin-François du | Seigneur Andre Alciat | excellent Iuriſconſulte. | Avec arguments ſuccincts pour entendre le | ſens de chaque Embleme. | En fin eſt la vie d'Alciat. | La verſion Françoiſe non encor veue cy devant. | A Paris. | Chez Iean Richer | rue S. Iean de | Latran, l'Enſeigne de l'arbre verdoyant. | 1584. | Avec privilege du roy.

The title here given is according to the collation sent from Wolfenbüttel.

Collation copy: In the library at Wolfenbüttel. *Other copies*: At Douai, S. Gall, Mazarine, Paris. *Named* by Graesse, and Mazzuchelli, vol. i. p. 368.

8vo Vol., 15 *centim.* × 8., or 5.9 Eng. *in.* × 3.14; *full pages*, 14.3 *centim.* × 7.5, or 5.66 *in.* × 2.95; *devices*, 5.7 *centim.* × 5.5, or 2.14 *in.* × 2.16.

Register: As reported, 310 leaves or 620 pages; leaves numbered 1–301, not numbered 9; total, 310 leaves.

Contents: leaf 2, "Avant-Propos, du translateur sur ceste nouvelle version des Emblemes d'Alciat," "d'Estampes le quatrième Iuin 1583;" leaf 7, "De emblemate avec la traduction, De l'Embleme;" leaf 8, "Clar. viri Andr. Alciati, in librum Emblematum præfatio ad Conr. Peutingerum Augustaneum;" leaf 9, Traduction, Preface, &c.; leaves 2–288, Emblemata cxcvii, Arbores xiv; in 3 leaves, Emblematum Index, &c.; leaves 292–301, "Vita Alciati," "La vie d'Alciat;" leaves 301, 302, Errata; leaf 302, Extraict du Privilege.

Leaf 1, Effigies Alciati | V. C. Mediol. I. C. | Motto, "Virtuti fortuna comes."

The plates are without borders, squared only by lines. There is neither monogram nor engraver's mark.

108. Emblemata v. c. | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | Mediolanensis | Ivrisconsvlti; | *Cum facili & compēdioſa explicatione quæ obſcu-* | *ra illuſtrantur, dubiàque omnia ſoluuntur.* | Per Clavdivm Minoem Diuionenſem. | *Excerpta ex eiuſdem in eadem Alciati emblema-* | *ta maiorum vigiliarum commentariis.* | Ad calcem Alciati vita nuper | ab eodem Minoë conſcripta. | (Plantin's *device* and *motto.*) Antverpiæ. | Apud Chriſtophorum Plantinum. | M.D.LXXXIV.

Collation copy: From Mr. *Corser's* library. *Other copies*: At Bâle, British Museum, Keir, Munich Pub., Thingwall, and Wolfenbüttel. *Named* in the *Annales Plantiniennes*, p. 266, No. 21; in Bernd's *List*, p. 80; and Clement's *Bibl. cur.*, vol. ii. p. 139.

16mo Vol., 4.72 *in.* × 3.14; *full pages*, 3.95 × 2.35; *devices*, about 2.2 × 2.35.

Register: A–g in 8s = 240 leaves or 480 pages; 1–471 numbered, and 9 unnumbered = 480 leaves.

Contents: pp. 3–7, "Clavd. Minos Christophoro Plantino Svo.

S. P." "Lutetiæ Nonis Sextil. CIↃ.IↃ.LXXXIII.;" pp. 8–12, "De Emblemate;" "Qvid sit Emblema; vnde svmpta emblematis inuentio, déque eius vsu & ratione;" p. 13, "Præfatio;" pp. 15–446, Emblemata, 211; pp. 449–471, "Andreæ Alciati, V. C. Vita, per Clavd. Minoem conscripta," Latin and French on alternate pages; then on 6 pages, not numbered, "Emblematvm Index," and the last printed page, "Privilegivm Galliarvm Regis;" "Fontibellaquæ, quarta Augusti M.D.LXXXII."

To the 211 emblems there are short comments. The devices are from the same designs and the same blocks as Plantin's editions 1577 and 1586, Nos. 93 and 99.

The copy of this edition, now in the Keir library, when purchased at Florence was interleaved, having been intended by some possessor as an *Album Amicorum*. Only three of the blank pages had been applied to this purpose, and in the rebinding of the volume these have been preserved, along with a few of the blank interleaves. The present owner records on a fly leaf that in R. Southey's *Common-place Book*, first series, 1850, there is quoted a passage relating to the custom of keeping an Album Amicorum, which prevailed very much in Germany, and continued to the last century. Similar albums were not unusual in France, nor I believe in Holland.

109. ["Emblemata V. C. And. Alciati . . . . Antv. 8vo. 1585."]

Authority: This edition is enumerated in Bernd's *All. Schriftenkunde*, &c. Bonn 1830, vol. i. p. 80. See *Catalogue*, No. 108.

110. ["Emblemata Andreae Alciati . . . . . Latino-gallica. Les Emblemes Latin-François . . . . . A. Paris. Iean Richer. 8vo. 1585."]

Authority: This edition is referred to by Graesse in his *Trésor de Livres rares et précieux*, Dresden 1859. The library at Douai in France returns it among its Alciati emblem-books.

111. A CHOICE | OF EMBLEMES, | AND OTHER DEVICES, | For the moſte parte gathered out of ſundrie writers, | Engliſhed and Moralized. | AND DIVERS NEWLY DEVISED, by Geffrey Whitney, | &c. (Plantin's *device* and *motto.*) *Imprinted at* LEYDEN, | In the houſe of Chriſtopher Plantyn, | by Francis Raphelengius. | M.D.LXXXVI.

There is a broad lace-work border round the title.

Colophon: "FINIS."

Beneath an emblem of the setting sun, with the motto, "Tempus omnia terminat," and some English stanzas.

From containing at least 86 emblems identical with, or founded on those of Alciati,—devices as well as subjects and mottoes being copied from Plantin's edition,—this work justly deserves a place among the very few of the English translations.

Collation copy: Mr. *Green's* of Knutsford. *Other copies* known of: At Keir, South Kensington and Thingwall; and in the libraries of colonel *Egerton Leigh* of Cheshire; *G. W. Napier*, esq., of Alderley; *E. G. Salisbury*, esq.; Mr. *Swinnerton* of Macclesfield; and *Henry Austin Whitney*, esq., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

4to VOL., 8.66 *in.* × 6.29; *full pages*, 7.08 × 4.92; *devices*, from 3 *in.* to 3.5 × 3.5.

Register: Initial, 10; A–Z, and a–f in 4s = 126 leaves or 252 pages; initial, 20 unnumbered; 1–230 numbered; blank 2 = 252 pages.

Contents: ⁂ Title; ⁂ *v*, Leicester's arms; ⁂ 2–⁂⁂ 3, "The Epistle Dedicatorie to the right honorable, my singvler good Lorde and Maister Robert Earle of Leycester," &c.; "At London the xxviij of Nouember, Anno M.D.LXXXV. Geffrey Whitney;" ⁂⁂ 3 *v* –4 *v*, "To the Reader;" ⁂⁂⁂ – 2 *v*, Laudatory verses; p. 1–103, emblemes 114, devices 112; p. 104, blank; p. 105, title, "The Second Parte of Emblemes," &c.; pp. 106, 107, Laudatory odes; pp. 108–250, emblemes 134, devices 133.

Of the whole series of 248 emblems, 225 have been "gathered out of sundrie writers," and of these, as we state

above, 86 belong to the Alciati emblems. For an account of the whole, reference may be made to the fac-simile reprint of 1866, edited by Henry Green, M.A.

112. EMBLEMATA | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | I. C. CLARISS. | Latino-gallica | Vna cum ſuccinctis argumentis quibus | Emblematis cuiuſque ſententia | explicatur. | Ad calcem Alciati Vita. | *LES EMBLEMES* | *LATIN-FRANCOIS DV* | *Seigneur* ANDRE ALCIAT, | *excellent Iuriſconſulte,* | *Auec argumens ſuccincts pour entendre le* | *ſens de chaſque Embleme.* | *En fin eſt la vie d'Alciat.* | La verſion Françoiſe non encor | veuë cy deuant. | (Device, *A branch of a tree.*) A PARIS, | Chez Iean Richer, rue S. Iean de Latran, | à l'arbre Verdoyant. | 1587. | *Auec Priuilege du Roy.*

As a frontispiece to the title, both in the Keir and in the Versailles copies, is a portrait of Alciati, "Effigies Alciati | V. C. Mediol. I. C." | Below is the motto, "Virtuti fortuna comes.")

Collation copy: From the Keir library. *Other copy:* At Versailles. *Named* by Brunet, vol. i. p. 149.

16mo VOL., 5.23 *in.* × 2.99; *full pages*, 4.52 × 2.28; *devices*, 2.12 × 2.16.

Register: Title and 11 other initial leaves unnumbered; then 1–288 leaves numbered; final 12 unnumbered; total, 312 leaves.

Contents: On 14 pages, "Avant-Propos dv Translateur svr ceste nouuelle version des Emblemes d'Alciat," "D'Estampes le quatresme Iuin 1583;" on 6 pages, "De Emblemate," "Extraict dv Privilege;" folios 1–288, "Andreæ Alciati Emblemata;" on 6 pages, "Emblematvm Index;" and on 18 pages, "And. Alciati Vita," with French translation on the opposite page.

The emblems have Alciati's mottoes, devices and stanzas, and Latin Epimythia; then French mottoes, stanzas and Epimythia; they number i–ccxi.

The devices also number 211; they are from wood-blocks that do not appear fresh: indeed they were used for the Mignault editions 1583, No. 106, and 1584, No. 107.

113. ["Omnia D. And. Alciati Emblemata . . . . . 16mo. Lugd. 1588."]

Authority: A copy acknowledged to be in the Escurial, August 22nd 1870; also in *Catalogue de la Bib. de la ville de Grenoble*, vol. ii. p. 175, there is the following entry:

"18290" (Andreæ Alciati emblemata). "Eadem *Lugduni* 1588, *in* 16."

The edition is named in Bernd's *List*, vol. i. p. 80.

114. OMNIA | ANDREAE | ALCIATI V. C. | EMBLEMATA, | Cum commentariis, quibus Emble- | matum aperta origine mens Aucto- | ris explicatur, & obſcura omnia | dubiaque illuſtrantur. | *Adiectæ ad calcem Notæ poſteriores.* | Per CLAVD. MINOEM, | Iuriſc. | PARISIIS, | Apud Steph Valletū ſub Bibliis Au- | reis è Regione Collegii Rhemenſis. | CVM PRIVILEGIO. | M.D.LXXXIX.

There is to the title, which is contained in an oval, a very pretty frame-like border, with יהוה *Jehovah*, in a cartouche above, and below the monogram DD, double D.

Colophon: "*Acheuees d'imprimer ce dernier iour de De-* | *cembre, pour la premiere edition*, 1588."

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* At Chaumont and Le Mans. *Named* in Bernd's *List*, p. 80.

8vo VOL., 6.88 *in.* × 4.13; *full pages*, 5.51 × 3.54; *devices* and *border*, 2.75 × 2.87.

Register: Initial 20 leaves, or 40 pages, unnumbered; then 1–818 pages numbered; final 22 pages unnumbered; total, 880 pages.

Contents: On 2 pages, "Clavd. Minos Ivris. Lectori S.;" on 2 pages, Greek verses; on 1 page, Latin, in praise of Mignault; in

10 pages, "Clavd. Minos Divionensis Lectori Studioso et candido," "Lutetiæ CIↃ.IↃ.LXXX.;" on 1 page, Scaliger and Gyraldus; on 1 page, "Bartholomævs Anvlus," Latin verses; on 2 pages, "M. Toscanvs;" on 1 page, "Extraict du Privilege;" on 15 pages, "Vita Alciati," by Minos; pp. 1–13, "Syntagma De Symbolis;" pp. 13–15, "De Emblemate;" pp. 16–19, "Præfatio & notæ;" pp. 20–704, "Andreæ Alciati Emblemata;" pp. 705–781, "Notæ Posteriores," per Cl. Minoem; pp. 787–800, "Interpretatio Græcorum;" pp. 801–814, "Claud. Min. Laudatio ad Alciati Emblemata;" pp. 815–818, "Index Emblematvm;" then on 22 pages, "Index Rerum et Verborum."

The emblems number i–ccxi, ccxiii being printed by mistake. Each has a motto or title, a device, a stanza and notes.

The devices, with pretty borders, are rather coarsely cut.

This may be considered almost the *first* of the editions overcrowded with notes. It will appear frequently, and so very much under the same form and same size, as to justify the conjecture that there was almost a community of goods, so far as regarded the emblems of Alciati, among the printers and publishers of Paris.

115. OMNIA | ANDREAE | ALCIATI V. C. | EMBLEMATA; | Cum commentariis, quibus Emble- | matum aperta origine, mens Aucto- | ris explicatur, & obſcura omnia, | dubiaque illuſtrantur. | *Adiectæ ad calcem notæ poſteriores.* | PER CLAVD. MINOEM, | Iuriſc. | PARISIIS, | Apud Franciſcum Gueffier, in via | D. Ioannis Lateranenſis. | CVM PRIVILEGIO. | M.D.LXXXIX.

The title is contained in an oval with ornaments, as No. 114.

Collation copy: In the library at Versailles, August 7th 1870. *Other copies:* At Bruges G. S., and Rennes.

8VO VOL., 17. *centim.* × 11., or 6.69 Eng. *in.* × 4.23; *full pages*, 14. *centim.* × 10.6 (an inaccuracy), or 5.51 *in.* × 4.17; *devices*, 7. *centim.* × 7., or 2.75 *in.* square.

Register: 818 pages numbered; 57 pages not numbered; and 3 pages blank; total, 878.

Contents: On 2 pages, "Claud. Minos Jurisc. lectori S.;" on 2 pages, verses laudatory of Mignault; on 10 pages, "Claud. Minos Lectori;" on 1 page, "Scaliger and Gyraldus;" on 1 page, "Barth. Anvlvs;" on 2 pages, "M. Toscanus;" on 1 page, "Extr. du privilege du roi," then "Vita And. Alciati;" pp. 1–15, "Syntagma de Symbolis;" pp. 16–19, "Præfatio." (N.B. The remainder of the return from Versailles is not clearly stated, but agrees with edition No. 114 in our *Catalogue.*) pp. 787–800, "Græcorum Epigrammatum;" pp. 801–814, "Ad Alciati emblemata laudatio;" pp. 815–818, "Index;" and on 22 pages, "Index rerum."

Each emblem has an ornamental border.

116. ["Omnia Andreæ Alciati V. C. Emblemata. . . . . 8vo. Parisiis, Richerius. 1589."]

Authority: A return from the library at Versailles; and a naming of this edition in Mazzuchelli, vol. i. p. 367, as being "per Thomam Richerium, Parisiis, 8vo, 1589." The Mazarine library, Paris, possesses an edition of this year, but does not specify in its return to our circular whether it be by Valletus, Gueffier or Richer.

117. ANDREÆ | ALCIATI | V. C. | EMBLEMATA: | *Cum* CLAVDII MINOIS *Diuionenſis ad* | *eadem* COMMENTARIIS. | Quibus Emblematum omnium aperta origine, | mens auctoris explicatur, & obſcura | omnia dubiaque illuſtrantur. | EDITIO QVARTA. | (Plantin's *device* and *motto.*) LVGDVNI BATAVORVM, | EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA, | Apud Franciſcum Raphelengium. | clɔ.lɔ.xci.

The motto on the device has to be read from the left hand to the right.

Collation copies: From the Keir library and from Mr. *Green.* *Other copy:* At the Escurial.

8vo VOL., 7.16 *in.* × 4.; *full pages*, 5.51 × 3.34; *devices*, including border, about 2.95 *in.* square; device, *within* border, about 2.16 *in.* square.

Register: A–Z, a–z and Aa in 8s, Bb 4 = 380 leaves or 760 pages; 1–718 numbered; 40 unnumbered; 2 blank = 760.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, blank; 3–6, "Avgvstino Thvano, Ioanni Gveslæo, et Barnabæ Brissonio regiæ procurationis in suprema Gallorum curia Triumuiris, sacrique consilii Senatoribus," "Stampis Idib. April. CIↃ.IↃ.LXXX.;" pp. 7, 8, Greek and Latin verses, "De his in Alciati Emblemata commentariis;" pp. 9–16, "Clavdivs Minos Divionensis, Lectori stvdioso et candido," "Lutetiæ CIↃ.IↃ.LXXX.;" pp. 17–27, "Syntagma De Symbolis," &c.; p. 18, Scaliger and Gyraldvs on Alciati's emblems; pp. 29–32, "Præfatio" et Notæ; pp. 33–718, "Andreæ Alciati Emblemata," i–ccxi; on 1 page, "Monitio ad Lectorem;" on 4 pages, "Emblematvm Index;" on 16 pages, "Ad Alciati Emblemata Lavdatio;" on 18 pages, "Index Rerum et Verborum;" the back of the last leaf being blank.

The emblems and devices are 211 in number, 1–197, and trees 198–211. The blocks are from former editions.

The dedication is the same as to Plantin's edition 1580, No. 99.

There will be found under the year 1593 another *fourth edition* exactly like this.

118. EMBLEMATA V. C. | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | MEDIOLANENSIS | IVRISCONSVLTI. | *Cum facili & compendioſa explicatione, quâ obſcura | illuſtrantur, dubiaque omnia ſoluuntur,* | Per CLAVDIVM MINOEM Diuionenſem. | *Excerptæ ex eiuſdem in eadem Alciati emblema- | ta maiorum vigiliarum commentariis.* | Ad calcem ALCIATI vita nuper ab | eodem MINOE conſcripta. | (Plantin's *device* and *motto.*) LVGDVNI BATAVORVM, | EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA, | Apud Franciſcum Raphelengium. | clↃ.lↃ.xci.

Colophon: "FINIS."

Collation copy: From Mr. *Green*, Knutsford. *Other copies:* Bremen, British Museum, Bruges G. S., Cambridge U., Cambridge St. John's, L'Escurial, Florence N., Friburg, Ghent U., the Hague

R., Keir, Leyden U., Munich Pub., Thingwall, Wolfenbüttel and Zurich. *Named* in Bernd's *List*, p. 80, and by Brunet, vol. i. col. 148.

16mo. Vol., 4.92 *in.* × 3.14; *full pages*, 3.93 × 3.42; *devices*, about 2.16 *in.* square.

Register: A–Z, a and b, in 8s = 200 leaves or 400 pages; 1–398 numbered, and 2 blank = 400 pages.

Contents: p. 1, title; p. 2, blank; pp. 3–7, "Clavd. Minos Christophoro Plantino svo S.P.," "Lutetiæ, Nonis Sextil. clɔ.lc.lxxxiii;" pp. 8–13, "De Emblemate;" p. 14, "Præfatio;" pp. 15–250, "Andreae Alciati Emblemata," i–ccxi; pp. 251–380, "Clavdii Minois Divionensis Emblematvm Andreæ Alciati Explicationes;" pp. 381–392, "Andreæ Alciati V. C. Vita per Clavd. Minoem conscripta;" p. 395, Note relating to the omission of one emblem, "*Adversus naturam;*" pp. 394–398, "Emblematvm Index."

The 211 devices are from the same blocks as those in edition 1584, No. 108, and which were repeated in 1599 and 1608.

Many of the blocks were used in Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*, printed at Leyden in 1586. For the monogram A see Alciati's *Life*, pp. 85, 86.

119. Andreæ | ALCIATI | V. C. | Emblemata :| *Cum* Clavdii Minois *Diuionenſis ad* | *eadem* Commentariis. | Quibus Emblematum omnium aperta origine, | mens auctoris explicatur, & obſcura | omnia dubiaque illuſtrantur. | Editio Qvarta. | (Plantin's *device* and *motto.*) Lvgdvni Batavorvm, | Ex officina Plantiniana, | Apud Franciſcum Raphelengium. | clɔ.lɔ.xciii.

The Plantinian device, as in No. 117, has to be read from the left hand to the right, Labore et Constantia.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* At Darmstadt D., Douai, Edinburgh, Leyden U., Munich Pub. and Munich U. *Named* by Mazzuchelli, vol. i.

8vo Vol. See edition 1591, No. 117.

Register, *contents*, *emblems* and *devices* exactly the same as in edition 1591, No. 117.

120. ["Emblemata . . . . cum Claudii Minois commentariis. Apud Ioan. Tornæſium. 1594."]

Collation copy: In the library, Lisbon, according to an answer thence received March 9th 1871.

12mo Vol., 12. *centim.* × 8., or 4.72 Eng. *in.* × 3.14; *full page*, 11. *centim.* × 7., or 4.33 *in.* × 2.75; *devices*, 4. *centim.* × 5., or 1.57 *in.* × 1.96. *These measurements are doubtful.*

Register: A–Q in 8s, R in 4 = 142 leaves or 284 pages; 1–253 numbered; 28 unnumbered; 3 blank; total, 284 pages.

Contents: 79 emblems.

This collation is too general to be fully relied on.

121. ["Andreæ Alciati Emblemata . . . . . Lugd. Bat. 8vo. 1596."]

Authority: The very brief reference made in Bernd's *List*, vol. i. p. 80. The edition probably the same with editions by Rapheleng, 1591 and 1593, Nos. 118, 119.

122. ["Emblemata Andreæ Alciati . . . . . 8vo. Francof. ad M. 1597."]

Authority: Bernd's *List*, Bonn 1850, Erster-theil, p. 80. The place, Francfort-on-Maine, suggests that this edition was a reprint of the edition by N. Bassæus 1582, No. 103, where the full title may be found.

122 a. SACRORVM | EMBLEMATVM | *CENTVRIA VNA,* | *quæ tam ad exemplum apte ex-* | preſſa ſunt & ad aſpectum pulchrè depingi | *poſſunt, quam quæ aut à veteribus* | accepta, aut inventa ab | alijs hactenus | *extant.* | *In tres claſſes diſtributa, quarum* | prima emblemata Typica, ſiue Allegorica: | *Altera hiſtorica, ſiue re geſta: Tertia* | *Phyſica, à rerum natura,* | *ſumpta continet.* | Omnia à puriſſimis Scripturæ fontibus deriva- | ta, & Anglo-latinis verſibus reddita. | *Ezechielis cap.* iiij. *vers.* j. ij.

Vers. j. *Tu ergo fili hominis, accipe tibi tabulam,* |
quam proponas tibi, & ſculpito in ea civitatem |
Ieruſchalaima, |
Vers. ij. *Et diſponens in ea obſidionem, extruenſq;* |
in ea propugnacula, diffunde in ea miſſilia ca- |
tapultaria. |

Ex officina Iohannis Legate floren- | tiſſimæ Academiæ Cantabrigienſis Typographi.

There is no date to this book nor on it, but there is evidence to show it could not have been printed before 1590, nor later than 1598. For sir Francis Walsingham, to whose widow emblem iii. is dedicated, died in 1590; and Francis Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia, or Wit's Treasury*, in 1598, ranks Willet, Whitney and Combe as English emblematists.

Colophon: On Sig. L2 *v*, "*FINIS.*"

Collation copies: From the University library, Cambridge, and from the library at Keir. *Named* by J. Payne Collier[81] and W. Carew Hazlitt,[82] both of whom assign to the volume only 32 leaves; also *named* by Lowndes,[83] with 84 pages, the right number.

4to VOL., the Cambridge copy bound up with *Tracts*, 6.61 *in.* × 4.72; the Keir copy, 7.28 × 4.72; *full pages*, about 5.9 × 2.36 to 3.14.

Contents: A 1, title; A *v*, blank; A 2–3, "Epistola dedicatoria," "Illvstrissimo Domino Comiti Essexio," &c. "*Tui honoris in perpetuum deditissimus.* And. Willet;" on A 3–L 2 *v*, "Emblemata," numbered 1–100.

The emblems are all *nude.* To each of them there is a Latin motto or title; sometimes a dedication; always a reference to a text or texts of Scripture; a Latin stanza of from 4 to 70 lines, and "the same in English." The metres both of the Latin and English are various.

Lowndes, vol. iv. p. 2926, says of these emblems, that they are "principally taken from Andrew Alciatus." And Graesse, in his *Trésor*, affirms:

"Cet ouvrage d'Andrew Willet, fameux puritain anglais, est tiré d'Alciat, et peut figurer parmi les traductions."

[81] See Collier's *Bibliog. and Crit. Catalogue*, 1865, vol. ii. pp. 524–526. Collier gives a very good description of Willet's work.

[82] See Hazlitt's *Hand Book of Old Eng. Lit.*, 1867, p. 657. He mistakes, however, Andrew Willett for his brother Rowland.

[83] See Bohn's edition of *Lowndes*, 1864, vol. iv. p. 2926.

On such authorities the title &c. of Willet's *Sacred Emblems* have been inserted in these pages; but on close examination of the 100 emblems *seriatim*, only two, emblem xxxi, "*Silentij commendatio*," and emblem xli, "*Posthac occasio calva*," have any resemblance to Alciati's emblems. Willet's "*Tertia pars emblematum Physicorum*," emblems lxxvii–c, takes for *six* of its subjects: emblem lxxvii, "The precious baulme from Arabique land;" emblem lxxviii, "The wormewood;" emblem lxxix, "The mustard-seed;" emblem lxxx, "The cedar in Lebanon;" emblem lxxxi "The fruitefull vine;" and emblem lxxxvi, "The mulbery;" and so he may have been hastily supposed to have copied or translated from Alciati's "Arbores." But really there is no foundation whatever for making Willet even an imitator of the Emblem Swan of Milan. *The Century of Sacred Emblems* has therefore affixed to it in our *Catalogue* simply a reference number, 122 a, and does not count as a link in our series.

123. Emblemata V. C. | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | MEDIOLANENSIS | Ivrisconsvlti; | *Cum facili & compendioſa explicatione, quâ obſcura* | *illuſtrantur, dubiáque omnia ſoluuntur.* | Per Clavdivm Minoem | Diuionenſem. | *Excerpta ex eiuſdem in eadem Alciati emblema-* | *ta maiorum vigiliarum commentariis.* | Ad calcem Alciati vita nuper ab | eodem Minoe conſcripta. | (Plantin's *device.*) *Ex officina Plantiniana.* | Apvd Christophorvm Raphelengivm. | Academiæ Lugduno-Batauiæ Typographum. | clɔ.lɔ.ic.

Collation copy: In the Bodleian library, Oxford. *Other copies:* At Berlin I., Bremen, Ghent U., Munich Pub., South Kensington,

Verona and Vienna I. *Named* in Bernd's *List*, and in Weigel's *Catalog.* No. 20835.

16mo Vol, (bound with *Callimachus and Junius*), 5. *in.* × 3,07 ; *full pages*, about 3.81 × 2.36 ; *devices*, about 2.16 *in.* square.

Register : A–Z in 8s, a–b in 8s = 200 leaves or 400 pages ; 1–398 numbered ; 2 blank = 400 pages.

Contents : Exactly the same as in edition 1591, No. 118.

Respecting the 211 emblems and devices consult editions Nos. 108 and 118. Weigel remarks concerning this edition :

"Mit dem bekanntem gestrichen Holzschnitten von dem Künstler mit dem Zeichen A, welcher für Plantin geschnitten hat."

124. ["Emblemata V. C. Andreæ Alciati . . . 8vo. Antv. 1599."]

Authority : Bernd's *Allg. Schriftenkunde*, vol. i. p. 80, refers to this Antwerp edition, which, except in the place of printing, has the same relation to the 8vo edition 1591, No. 117, as the 16mo edition 1599, No. 123, has to the 16mo edition 1591, No. 118.

125. ["Sans frontiſpiece, Six Embl. au fond deſquels on lit les vers d'Alciati, ſon nom et le nom du graveur Iean Sadeler (about 1599)."]

Collation copy : In the Palatine library of Modena, whence the following particulars were sent by signor L. Carbonieri :

I. Contenu. 1 (Embl. *Non tibi sed religioni*), "Isidis effigiem," &c. (tous les 8 vers.). "A. Alciati auctor." "Joañ Sadeler f." (Emb. vii.)

2 (Embl. *Impossibile*), "Abluis Æthiopem, &c." (en 2 vers). "I. Sadeler sc. et ex." "Andr. Alciat." (Emb. lix.)

3 (Embl. *Desidiam abjiciendam*), "Quisquis iners, abeat," &c. (tous les 4 vers). "Eg. Mostard pinx." "A. Alciat." "I. Sadeler sculpsit." (Emb. lxxxi.)

4 (Embl. *Qui alta contemplantur cadere*), "Dum turdos visco," &c. (tous les 6 vers). "Joñ Sadeler sculpsit Venetiis." "And. Alciat." (Emb. ciiii.)

5 (Embl. *De Morte et Amore*), "Errabat socio Mors," &c. (seulement les premiers 6 vers). "Cum privil. Pontif." . . . . "inv. Matthia Bril — Joã Sadeler sculp." "A. Alciat." (Emb. cliv.)

6 (Embl. *idem*), "Debuit inde senex," &c. (les autres 6 vers). "Petri Stephani figur — Joan. Sadeler sc." "Alciat." (Emb. cliv.)

II. MESURES. 1 Du Volume, 24.8 *centim.* × 34.1, *i.e.* 9.76 Eng. *in.* × 13.42. 2 Des Planches sur cuivre, 19.5 à 20.1 *centim., sans les vers d'Alciat,* et 21.2 à 21.8 *centim., avec les vers au fond,* × 26.5 à 27.1 *centim.*

III. OBSERVATIONS. Le volume de gravures de plusieurs auteurs possédé dans cette Bibliotheque contient trois autres emblemes figurés en cuivre par Jean Sadeler, et un entre autres on dirait représenter celui d'Alciati: *Mutuum auxilium;* mais les vers qui se trouvent au bas ne sont pas d'Alciati, comme ne le sont pas les vers des deux autres emblemes desquels pourtant on voit que le Sadeler les exécuta à Venise l'an. 1599.

For remarks on these engravings see *Life of Alciati,* pp. 87, 88.

126. ["Andreæ Alciati V. C. Emblemata . . . . . Lugduni. 4to. 1600."]

Authority: An edition of this place, size and date is mentioned in Bernd's *Allg. Schriften-kunde,* vol. i. p. 80. It was probably similar to the following edition, No. 127, if not identical with it, excepting in being a *quarto* instead of an *octavo.* The 4to edition of 1600 has been named in the "Response" from Huesca; but from a later communication from the librarian, M. Mateo de Lasala, it appears that the copy in that university is an 8vo, A.D. 1600, — our No. 128.

127. ANDREÆ | ALCIATI | V. C. EMBLEMATA. | Cum Claudii Minois ad eadem | Commentariis & Notis | Posterioribus, | *Quibus Emblematum omnium* | *aperta origine, mens auctoris* | *explicatur, & obscura omnia* | *dubiaque illustrantur.* | *LVGDVNI,* | APVD HÆRED. | GVLIELMI | ROVILLII. | *M.DC.*

With the usual original Rovillian ornamented title.

Collation copy: In the public library of Oporto. *Other copies:* Huesca U., Keir, Madrid N., Munich Pub., Salamanca and Sara-

gossa U. *Named* by Graesse, Weigel, Ducoin's *Cat. Grenoble*, 1835, vol. ii. p. 175, and Mazzuchelli, vol. i. p. 366.

8vo Vol., 17.3 *centim.* × 11.2, or 6.81 Eng. *in.* × 4.4; *full pages*, 13.3 *centim.* × 7.7, or 5.23 *in.* × 3.63; *devices*, 6.1 *centim.* × 6.4, or 2.4 *in.* × 2.51.

Register: Sig. initial 20 leaves; A–Z, Aa–Zz, Aaa–Fff, in 8s, Ggg in 2 = 440 leaves or 880 pages; initial 40 pages unnumbered; 1–818 numbered; final 22 unnumbered; total, 880 pages.

Contents: pp. (1, 2), title; pp. (3 4), "Clavd. Minos Ivrisc. Lectori S.;" pp. (5–7), laudatory verses; pp. (8–17), Clavd. Minos Divionensis Lectori Stvdiosa et Candido," "Lutetiæ CIↃ.IↃ.LXXX.;" pp. (18–21), Scaliger's &c. opinions; pp. (23–37), "Alciati vita;" pp. 1–13, "Syntagma de Symbolis;" pp. 13–15, "De emblemate;" pp. 16–19, "Alciati præfatio;" pp. 20–704, Emblemata 197, Arbores 14=i–ccxi; pp. 705–786, "NOTÆ POSTERIORES AD ALCIATI EMBLEMATA | Per Clavdivm Minoem Δευτέραι φροντίδες, | Editio vltima. | (Device, *An eagle on a globe, and two serpents with tails interlaced;* motto, 'IN VIRTVTE ✝ ET FORTVNA.') LVGDVNI, | Apud Hæredes Gulielmi Rovillii. | M.D.C.;" pp. 787–800, "Interpretatio Græcorum;" pp. 801–814, "Ad Alciati Emblemata Laudatio;" pp. 815–818, "Emblematum Index in locos communes;" 2 pp. blank; final 22 pages, "Index Rerum."

Respecting emblems, devices, &c., reference may be made to editions 1551, 1564, 1566, 1574 and 1580, Nos. 47, 48, 70, 75, 89 and 97.

128. OMNIA | ANDREÆ ALCI- | ATI V. C. EMBLE- | MATA. | Cum Commentariis, | quibus emblematum | detecta origine, dubia | omnia et obscura illus- | trantur. | *Adiectæ* | *Nouæ appendices nusquam* | *antea editæ.* | *Per. Claud Minoem* | *Iurisconsult.* | *PARISIIS,* | *In officina Ioan. Richerii* | *sumptibus.* | *Cum Priui. Regis.* | M.DC.I.

The title is on a monumental slab, between two pillars, at the foot of which is engraved *Iacques* | *de Weert*,—the artist's name. See *Life of Alciati*, p. 87.

Collation copy: In the University library, Cambridge. *Other copies:* Besançon, Lausanne, Le Mans, and Naples N.

8vo Vol., 7. *in.* × 4.25; *full pages*, with marginal notes, 5.63 × 3.54; *devices*, with borders, 2.75 × 2.87.

Register: ã, ẽ and ĩ, in 8s; A–Z, Aa–Zz, Aaa–Qqq, in 8s; Rrr 4 = 524 leaves or 1048 pages; initial pages, 48 unnumbered; pp. 1–968 (should be 970) numbered; final 30 pages unnumbered; total, 1048.

Contents: On ã, title; ã *v*, blank; ãij, ãiij, "Viro Patricio, ac nobili, Lodoico Segvierio, in svprema Galliarvm cvria Senatori Regio, & Ecclesiæ Parisiensis Decano lectissimo," "Lutetiæ ad x Calend. Sept.;" ãiij *v*–a 5, "Lectori;" ã 5 *v*, ã 6, Greek stanzas, and their Latin translation, "De his in Alciati Emblemata commentarijs;" ã 5 *v*–ẽ, laudatory verses, "ad Clavdivm Minoem;" ẽij–6, "Epistola Priorvm Editionvm," "Lutetiæ clɔ.lɔ.lxxx.;" ẽ 7–ĩ 6, "Vita Alciati;" ĩ 6 *v*–ĩ 8, Scaliger, Gyraldus and Anulus, in praise of Alciatus; pp. 1–33, "De Symbolis;" pp. 33–35, "De Emblemate;" pp. 36–40, "Præfatio, ad Ch. Peutingerum Aug.;" pp. 41–887, "Andreæ Alciati Emblemata," i–cxcvii; pp. 888–926, Arbores, cxcviii–ccxi; pp. 927–950, "Interpretatio Græcorum;" pp. 951–964, "Ad Alciati Emblemata Lavdatio;" pp. 965–968, "Emblematvm Index;" Ppp 6–Rrr iij, "Index Rervm et Verborvm;" Rrr iiij, "Extraict du Priuilege," "à Paris, le 14. Aoust. 1601, Gvogvier."

The devices appear to be from the same blocks as those of edition 1589, No. 114.

129. OMNIA | Andreæ Alci-|ati V. C. Emble-|mata. | Cum Commentariis | quibus emblematum | detecta origine, dubia | omnia, et obscura illustrantur. | *Adiectæ* | *Nouæ appendices nusquam* | *antea editæ.* | *Per Claud. Minoem* | *Iurisc*on:| *Parisiis.* | *In officina Ioan. Richerii* | *sumptibus.* | *Stephani* | *Valleti* | *sub Bibliis* | *aureis e regione* | *Collegii Remēsis,* | 1602. | *Cum Priui. Regis.*

The title is engraved on a monumental slab with pillars, and surmounted by a portrait of Alciati. Engraver, *Iaques de Weert.* See *Life of Alciati*, p. 87.

Colophon: On Rrr iij *v*, "Finis."

Collation copies: From the Thingwall library, and Mr. *Green*, Knutsford. *Other copies:* At the Bodleian library, Oxford, and Venice (S. Mark's).

8vo Vol., 6.96 *in.* × 4.33; *pages*, with marginal notes, 5.63 × 3.54; *devices*, with borders, 2.75 × 2.37.

Register: Exactly the same with that of edition 1601, No. 128.

Contents: Except that "Extraict du Priuilege" is on sig. i 8 *v*, the contents of edition No. 129 are the same with those of edition No. 128.

The emblems, by misprint ccxiij, are 211. The *Notæ Posteriores* of the Paris edition 1589, No. 114, are in this edition placed each as an *Appendix* to its peculiar commentary.

130. OMNIA | Andreæ Alci- | ati V. C. Emble- | mata. | Cum Commentariis, | quibus emblematum | detecta origine, dubia | omnia, et obscura illuſ- | trantur. | *Adiectæ* | *Nouæ appendices nuſquam* | *antea editæ.* | *Per Claud. Minoem* | *Iuriſcon:* | *Parisiis.* | *In officina Ioan. Richerii* | *ſumptibus* | *Franciſci* | *Gueffier in uia D. Ioannis* | *lateranēſis e regione* | Collegii Cameracēſis. | 1602.

Engraved border with portrait of Alciati, as in edition No. 129.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* At Amiens, Avignon, Cambridge U., Copenhagen R., Darmstadt D., Douai, Holkham, Pisa U., La Rochelle and Toulouse. *Named* in Bernd's *List*, p. 80, and Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 367.

8vo Vol., 7.08 *in.* × 4.21. See Nos. 128 and 129.

Contents: The same as in editions Nos. 128 and 129, the emblems being similarly numbered ccxiii by misprint for ccxi; and the *Notæ Posteriores* of edition 1589, No. 114, each forming an *Appendix* to its commentary.

At the end of the emblems, at p. 926, is inscribed: "Tibi vni Christo, Opt. Max. Gloria."

The three editions, Nos. 128, 129 and 130 are essentially the same, except in having three publishers, Richerius, Valletus and Gueffier.

131. OMNIA | ANDREÆ ALCI- | ATI V. C. EMBLE- | MATA. | Cum Commentariis, | quibus emblematum | detecta origine, dubia | omnia et obscura illuſ- | trantur. | *Adiectæ* | *Nouæ appendices nuſquam* | *antea editæ.* | *Per Clavd. Minoem* | *Iuriſcon:* | *PARISIIS,* | *Ex officina Ioan. Richerii* | *ſumptibus. Stephani* | *Valleti ſub Bibliis* | *aureis e regione* | *Collegii Remēſis.* | 1608. | *Cum Priuil. Regis.*

The title is on a monumental slab, like edition 1602, No. 129.

Collation copy: In the library of Douai, France. *Other copies:* Madrid N., Mazarine (Paris), Munich Pub., Nîmes, and M. *Bethune*, Bruges. *Named* in Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 367, as a reprint of Richer's edition 1602.

8vo VOL., 18. *centim.* × 11., or 7.08 Eng. *in.* × 4.33 ; other measures as in edition 1602, No. 128.

Register and *Contents:* See Nos. 128 and 129.

Observation: The wood-engravings are within squares of arabesque and animals.

132. OMNIA | ANDREÆ ALCI- | ATI V. C. | EMBLE- | MATA. | Cum Commentariis, | quibus emblematum | detecta origine, dubia | omnia et obscura illuſ- | trantur. | *Adiectæ* | *Nouæ appendices nuſquam* | *antea editæ.* | *Per Claud. Minoem* | *Iuriſcon:* | *PARISIIS.* | *In officina Ioan. Richerii* | *ſumptibus.* | *Franciſci* | *Gueffier in via D. Ioannis* | *lateranenſis* | *e regione* | *Collegii Cameracēſis.* | 1608, | *Cum priuil. Regis.*

The title is engraved within a portal of Tuscan columns, on the arch of which is a fine portrait of Alciati; below the left hand column is engraved *Iaques;* under the right the name *de Weertz* or *de Weert.*

Colophon: On the last page, "Extraict du Priuilege." "Signe "GVOGVIER."

Collation copy: In the library of the university of Cracow. *Other copy:* At Oporto.

8vo Vol., 17.6 *centim.* × 11., or 6.92 Eng. *in.* × 4.33; other measurements as in edition 1602, No. 128.

Register and *Contents* are the same as in edition 1602, No. 128.

Observations: The borders of the plates bear no monogram or engraver's mark. The devices are an exact copy of the woodcuts in another edition of Alciati's emblems, that by Plantin, 1581, but the borders are not the same.

133. Andreæ Alciati | v. c. | EMBLEMATA | cvm | Clavdii Minois i. c. | Commentariis Ad poſtremum Auctoris editionem | auctis & recognitis. | (The Plantin device, *Hand and compaſſes;* motto, "labore et constantia.") Ex officina Plantiniana. | *Raphelengii.* | 1608.

The title is within simple straight lines.

Colophon: Finis.

Collation copy: From the library of Dr. *Conrad Leemans* of Leyden. *Other copies:* At Berlin I., British Museum, Copenhagen R., Dresden R., the Hague R., Holkham, Keir, Liége, Lisbon, Modena Pal., Munich Pub. and U., Oporto, Rimini, Stuttgart R., Thingwall, M. *Bethune*, Bruges, and Mr. *Green*, Knutsford. *Named* in Bernd's *List*, p. 80.

8vo Vol., 18.3 *centim.* × 11.5, or 7.2 Eng. *in.* × 4.52; *full pages*, 14.5 *centim.* × 9., or 5.7 *in.* × 3.46; *devices*, about 5.5 *centim.* square, or 2.16 square *inches*.

Register: Part i. † 2, ⁂ 8, A–N, in 8s, O 6 = 120 leaves or 240 pages; initial 20 unnumbered; 1–218 numbered; 2 blank = 240 pages. Part ii. A–Z, a–y, in 8s, z 4 = 364 leaves or 728 pages; 1–698 numbered; final 28 unnumbered, and 2 blank = 728 pages.

Contents: Part i. † title; † *v*, blank; † 2, "Typographvs Lectori;" † 2 *v*, "Effigies Andreæ Alciati;" ⁂–⁂ 8, "Vita Alciati;" ⁂ 8 *v*, "Ivlii Cæsaris Scaligeri Ivdicivm," and "Lilivs Gyraldvs;" pp. 1–4, "Emblematvm Index in locos communes;" p. 5, "Præfatio ad Ch. Peutingerum;" pp. 6–204, "Andreæ Alciati Emblemata," i–cxcvii; pp. 205–218, Emb. cxcviii–ccxi. Part ii. p. 1, "Clavdii Minois | I. C. | COMMENTARII |

AD | EMBLEMATA | ANDR. ALCIATI. | Ad postremam Auctoris recognitionem | aucti & recogniti;" p. 2, blank; pp. 3, 4, "*Viro patritio ac nobili* LODOICO SEGVIERIO," &c.; pp. 5–7, "Epistola ad Lectorem;" pp. 8–15, "Epistola priorum editionum," "Lutetiæ, CIↃ.IↃ.LXXX.;" p. 16, the sixteen Greek lines of Nic. Gvlonivs, and the Latin translation, "De his in Alciati Emblemata commentariis;" pp. 17–21, laudatory Latin verses, "ad Claud. Minoem;" pp. 23–45, "Syntagma De Symbolis;" pp. 46, 47, "De Emblemate;" pp. 48–60, "Ad Alciati Emblemata Lavdatio;" pp. 61–696, "Clavd. Minois Comment. ad Emblemata (ccxi) And. Alciati;" p. 696, *Colophon*, "TIBI VNI, CHRISTE OPT. MAX. GLORIA;" pp, 697, 698, "Monitio ad Lectorem;" FINIS. On 28 pages, "Index rervm et verborvm;" 2 pages blank.

In this edition the text of Alciati's emblems and the woodcuts are altogether disjoined from the commentary.

The devices used were probably first cut for the Plantinian edition of 1584, and served for succeeding editions. Several bear the monogram A, for an explanation of which see Alciati's *Life*, p. 85.

The portrait has been regarded as a copy of that in De Bry's *Icones*, Frankfort 1597, but except in the features it is very different. De Bry has neither the same emblematical figures nor the verses by Arias Montanus, which are given in Reusner's work in 1589.[84]

134. ["ANDR. ALCIATI Emblemata, cum Claud. Minois Commentariis auctis et recognitis. *Antverp. ex offic. Plantin.* 1608, 8vo, cum fig."]

Authority: See *Biblioth. Bunavianae*, Lipsiae, 4to, 1752, tome i. vol. iii. p. 1989, "Scriptores de Emblematibus;" and Bernd's *Allg.*

[84] Certainly it is not a copy from Valdkirch's "*Icones siue Imagines vitæ, literis Cl. Virorum* Italiae, Graeciae, Germaniae, Galliae, Angliae, Vngariae," with various Elogia by Nicolas Reusner, 8vo, Basileae clↃ.IↃ.xic. *i.e.* 1589. To each *Icon* is appended an epitaph, that to Alciati places his death "Naturæ anno M.D.XLIIX. *i.e.* 1548," which is incorrect. To Alciati also are assigned in this work, O 5–6, nine sets of laudatory verses from Montanus, Scaliger, Reusner, &c.

Schriften-kunde, vol. i. p. 80. In the returns made to our circular of 1870 the libraries at Bremen, Holkham, Modena Pal. and Strasbourg reported the possession of copies of this Antwerp 1608 edition; but on repeating the inquiries in 1871, Bremen, Holkham and Modena all appear to mean, not an Antwerp but a Leyden edition, ex off. Plantin. 1608. The authorities we have given are certainly questionable.

134 a. ["And. Alciati Emblemata . . . . . 8vo. Lugduni 1608."]

Authority: An edition mentioned by Bernd in his *Allg. Schriften-kunde*, vol. i. p. 80; but no collateral evidence being found, such an edition is not counted in our *Catalogue.* See however edition 1600, No. 126.

135. DELITIAE | C. C. ITALORVM | POETARVM HVIVS SV- | PERIORISQUE AEVI | illuſtrium. | *Collectore* | *Ranvtio Ghero.* | (Device, *Time on a winged stag.*) Proſtant in officinâ Ionæ Roſæ. | CIↃ.IↃ.CVIII.

Collation copy: In the library of the university of Glasgow. *Other copies:* None reported. *Named* in Audiffredi's *Catalogus*, Rome 1761, vol. i. p. 91.

16mo VOL., 4.8 *in.* × 3.3.

Register: Including title and 8 leaves unnumbered = 16 pages; then 1–1399 pages numbered; index, 30 pages; *errata*, 1 page; total, 1466 pages.

Contents: At pp. 12–56, "Andreæ Alciati Mediolanensis Emblemata."

Alciati's text is simply given, with the mottoes, but without any devices. The emblems are numbered 1–216. At the end is placed the stanza to Peutinger, a position in which probably it is nowhere else found.

136. EMBLEMATA | V. C. | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | MEDIOLANENSIS | IVRISCONSVLTI; | *Cum facili & compendioſa explicatione, quâ obſcura illuſtrantur, dubiaq; omnia ſoluuntur.* | PER CLAV-

DIVM MINOEM Diuionenſem. | *Eiuſdem* Alciati *Vita.* | (Plantin's *device.*) EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA, | *RAPHELENGII.* | 1610.

Collation copy: In the library at Keir. *Other copies:* At Aberdeen U. and at Stockholm. *Named* by Bernd, 1830, p. 80.

8vo VOL., 4.6 *in.* × 2.95; *full pages*, 3.93 × 2.36; *devices*, 2.16 *inches* square. See *Catalogue*, No. 118.

Register: A–Z, a and b, in 8s = 200 leaves or 400 pages; numbered 1–398; blank 2 = 400 pages.

Contents: See edition 1591, *Catalogue* No. 118; and also for other particulars.

137. ["A PART of the Emblems of Alciati, with a METRICAL VERSION into *English.* A Manuscript of the time of JAMES I."]

Collation copy: In the library at Thingwall.

Folio VOL., 12. *in* × 7.55; *full pages*, about 9.25 × 4.84; *devices*, about 4.72 *inches* square.

Register: Initial 2 leaves blank; then 1–90 leaves, but 73 is given *twice;* therefore 91 leaves written upon *one* side only.

Contents: The devices, Latin text and English version of 91 emblems. Comparing the MS. with Rapheleng's edition 1608, No. 133, there are missing between the beginning and emblem 100 inclusive, emblems 1, 2, 3, 29, 54, 57, 79, 81 and 96.

Of the 91 devices 13 are uncoloured and 78 coloured, generally very deeply and brightly.

The English translations are in various kinds of metre, the rhymes being often imperfect. In emblem 88, p. 78, *mudd* has *good* for its rhyming word; was the version made by a Lancashire man?

Mr. Joseph Brooks Yates, the former owner of the MS., in his *Sketch of Emblem-books*, p. 10, supposes this version to be of the time of James I. There are marks in it denoting an earlier date, but not earlier than the end of the sixteenth century.

137 a. NVCLEVS | EMBLEMATVM SE- | LECTISSIMORVM, QVE | ITALI VVLGO IMPRESAS | vocant priuata in- | duſtria

ſtudio ſin- | gulari, vndiq; | conquiſitus, | non paucis venuſtis in- | uentionibus auctus, | additis carminibus | illuſtratus. | A GABRIELE ROLLENHAGIO | MAGDEBVRGENSE. | COLONIÆ | E. Muſæo cælatorio | CRISPIANI PASSÆI. | *PROSTANT* | *Apud Ioānē Ianſoniū,* | *Bibliopolā Arnhemiēſē.*

This *first* title is engraved on two tablets, surrounded by a border of *seven* compartments: 1° "NATVRÆ GENIO ALLICIENTE." 2° "DEO PROPI" . . . 3° "INGENIO ADIVVANTE" 4° "MINERVA NON REPVGNANTE." 5° "GRATIIS ARRIDENTIBVS." 6° "ARS IMITATRIX NATVRÆ." 7° "SVPER ÆTHERA TENDIT."

LES EMBLEMES | DE MAISTRE GABRIEL | ROLLENHAGVE, | *MIS EN VERS FRANCOIS,* | *par vn profeſſeur de la langue Françoiſe* | *a Colongne.* | (Device, *The temptation in Eden;* motto, "LIGNVM VITÆ, PROV. II. FRVCTVS HOMINIS IVSTI.") *COLONIAE,* | Excudebat Seruatius Erffens: | Proſtant | Apud Ioannem Ianſonium bibliopolam Arnheimense. | Anno M.DC.XI.

Except the device the title is quite plain.

GABRIELIS | ROLLENHAGII | ſelectorum | Emblematum | CENTURIA | SECUNDA | A° M.DC.XIII. | *Vltraiecti ex officina Criſpiani Paſſæi,* | *Proſtant apud Joan. Janſoniū Bibli. Arnh.*

The title of the *second* part is on an oval, set upon a carved square frame.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* British Museum, Thingwall, &c. &c. *Named* by Brunet, vol. iv. col. 1359. 4to VOL., 7.79 *in.* × 5.9; *engraved pages,* 5.43 × 3.93; *devices,* circle with a diameter of about 3.74 *inches.*

Register: PART I. Initial pages 48, unnumbered; 100 leaves, 1–100. PART II. Initial pages 26, unnumbered; and 100 leaves, 1–100.

Contents: PART I. A 1, engraved title; A 2, portrait of Rollenhagen; A 2 *v*, "In Emblemata D. Gabrielis Rollenhagii;" A 3–4, "Candido et benevolo Lectori;" B 1–2, "Reuerendissimo et Potentissimo Principi Domino, Domino Christiano Gvilielmo, Archiepiscopo Magdebvrgensi, Primati Germaniæ," &c.; B 3, Dedication to do. in 20 lines of Latin verse; B 4, eulogistic Latin verses; on A 1, title, "Les Emblemes," &c.; A 2, "L'Avthevr a ses vers;" A 2 *v*–D 4, "Les Emblemes . . . . . selon levr ordre et

deuises contenus en ce liure ;" emblems 1–100. On 100 leaves, the engraved devices by Crispin de Passe, with their Latin mottoes and verses by Rollenhagen, 1–100. Book II. On A 1, title ; A 2, portrait of Rollenhagen ; A 2 *v*, "Reuerendissimo et nobilissimo Domino, Lvdovico *à* Lochow," &c. ; A 3, "Carmen in Embl. Rollenhagii et Passæi ;" A 3 *v*-D, "La Seconde Centvrie des Emblemes, par T. D. L. S. D. O.," &c., "Sonnet du Paraphraste ;" embleme 1–100 ; on D 2 "Sonnet svr les Emblemes de la seconde Centvrie dv S^r Gab. Rollenhagve, & les Figures du S^r Crispian van den Pas ;" on 100 leaves, engraved devices by Crispin de Passe, and their Latin mottoes and verses by Rollenhagen, 1–100.

Rollenhagen had prepared "*five* Centuries of Emblems," but only *two* of these centuries have been engraved and published. The figures and workmanship are superior to any that had hitherto appeared in books of emblems.[85] Of the original drawings by Crispin de Passe illustrating emblems, thirty-five are in the library at Keir. On comparison however it is seen that the engravings do not exactly follow the drawings.[86]

A remark in his preface,[87] on sig. A 4, may have led to the supposition and the assertion that Rollenhagen's emblems are to be regarded as a close imitation if not a reproduction of those by Alciati. Whatever may have been the case in the *three* centuries collected but not published, in the *two* centuries, with engravings by De Passe, there are not more than fifteen emblems which are copied from Alciati, and about the same number from Symeoni and Whitney, or rather Whitney's originals.

[85] As the preface "*To the Reader*" says : "Figuras enim non in lignum, ut illi, sed in æs incisas damus, nec nudas, sed parergis nō inuenustis exornatas." It is added : "Versus pauci sunt; sed apti, perspicui, rotundi."

[86] For instance, take the engraving in Rollenhagen, cent. ii. emblem lxxv, *Testing gold*, and compare it with a copy of the original drawing in *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, p. 177 ; the differences are evident. The engraving in Wither's *Emblemes*, p. 233, of the same subject, also follows Rollenhagen, but not the original drawing.

[87] It is where Alciatus, Sambucus and Hadrian Junius are spoken of, and it is declared that Rollenhagen "gathered 500 emblems, as well from other writers as from his own genius."

Rollenhagen's therefore cannot with propriety be counted as an edition or close imitation of our jurisconsult.

138. ["12mo . . . . . Andr. Alciati. Emblematum libri Duo. Io. Tornæſius . . . . Coloniae Allob. 1614. pp. 241."]

Authority: The above extract from a "response" made by the librarian of the university of Munich, 12th May 1870: also confirmed from the National library, Lisbon, 1st July 1870; and by M. W. Vischer of Bâle.

For previous editions by Tornæsius, sen., see *Catalogue*, edition 1547, No. 29; edition 1549, No. 40; edition 1554, No. 54, &c.

139. CLARISS. VIRI | DN. ANDREÆ | ALCIATI EMBLE- | *matum libri duo*, | Aucti & reſtituti & perelegantibus | figuris illuſtrati. | *Cum ſuccinctis Commentariolis.* | Additus eſt index locupletiſſimus. | (Device, *Within a serpent-circle, a tablet;* motto, "QVOD TIBI | FIERI NON | VIS ALTERI | NE FECERIS.") Geneuæ, | APVD IOAN. TORNAESIVM. | CIↃ.IↃ.CXIV.

Colophon: An angel holding forth the scroll, "ART EN SON DIEV."

Collation copy: From the library, Thingwall. *Other copies:* At the Bodleian, Hague R. and Keir. *Named* in Bernd's *List*, vol. i. p. 80.

24mo VOL., 4.68 *in.* × 2.87; *full pages*, 3.93 × 2.28; *devices*, 1.33 × 1.92.

Register: ¶ 8 and a–r in 8s = 144 leaves or 288 pages; initial 16 pages unnumbered; 1–257 numbered; 13 unnumbered; 2 colophon and blank = 288 pages.

Contents: ¶ 1, title; 2, 3, "Ioan. Tornæsivs Lectori S.;" ¶ 3 *v*–4, "Magnifico, Generoso, Atqve illvstri domino Ioanni Menesio Sotomajor, Domino in Cantanhide, &c., Sebastianus Stockhamerius Germanus S.;" "Ex Lusitaniæ inclyta Conymbriensi Academia. Calen. Mart. post virginium partum anno quinquagesimo

secundo supra sesquimillesimum;" ¶ 5–7, "De Alciato excerpta ex laudatione Cl. Minois ad Emblemata;" ¶ "In titulum libelli," *vers.* Latin stanzas, "ad D. Ch. Peutingerum;" pp. 1–170, Bk. i., emblems i–cxiii; pp. 171–257, Bk. ii., emblems i–xcix; index in 12 unnumbered pages; colophon.

The emblems of Bk. i. have the same comment as those of Stockhamer's edition 1556, No. 59, which contains only the first book. In No. 139 the same arrangement of the emblems is observed as in the Spanish edition 1549, No. 36. In Bk. ii. several of the emblems are without devices. Cl. Mignault's notes furnished the ground-work of the Commentariolæ.

The devices of Bk. i. appear to be the same as those in edition 1556, No. 59. All the devices are similar to those in the Antwerp edition 1573, No. 84.

140. ["Emblemata (213) epigrammatibus totidem explicata; cum commentariis Claudii Minois (*Mignault*), et cum Auctoris notis posterioribus. *Lugduni, Rovillius*, 1614; in 4to. 86. D. 7."]

Authority: See *Catalogus Biblioth. Borbon.*, Neapoli 1832, fol., vol. i. p. 53,—the entry relating to Alciati's emblems. The library at Amiens also claims to possess a copy of this 4to edition 1614, numbered 3216.

Refer to editions by Roville 1600, Nos. 126, 127, and 1548, No. 31.

Writers make some confusion between the editions Nos. 139 and 140. Thus the *Bib. Casanabanis Catalogus*, fol., Rome 1761, p. 91, describes what evidently belongs to edition No. 139 as if it were an 8vo, and printed by Roville's heirs: "Emblemata (ccxiii, *singulis imaginibus suo epigrammate explicatis*) elucidata doctissimis Claudii Minois (*Mignault*) Comment. Quibus additæ sunt Auctoris Notæ posteriores. *Prætermittitur ejusdem Vita per eundem Minoem*, in 8vo. Lugduni, Hær. Gul. Rovillii. 1614."

141. Andreæ | ALCIATI | i. v. c. | Emblemata. | *Elucidata doctiſſimis Claudii Minois Commentariis:* | Quibus additæ ſunt eiuſdem Auctoris Notæ | Poſteriores. | *Quarum indagine aperta*

omnium Emblematum origine ſenſuq; | *intimo eruto, mens Auctoris detegitur, & explicatur; atque* | *aperte obſcura omnia quæq; dubitationem aliquam* | *præ ſe ferebant illuſtrantur.* | Poſtremo hac editione à mendis quam plurimus, quibus | ſuperiores ſcatebant, omnia repurgata, atque in | nitidiorem ſenſum reducta. | (Roville's device, *Eagle and serpents;* motto, "IN VIRTVTE | ET FORTVNA.") LVGDVNI, | Apud Hæredes Guilielmi Rouillij. | *M.DC.XIIII.*

Some lines of the title are printed in red ink.

Colophon: *FINIS.*

Collation copy: From the library of Mr. *Corser.* *Other copies:* Berlin I., Cambridge U., Catana, Douai, Florence, Ghent, Keir, South Kensington, Lisbon, Madrid N., Naples N., Nîmes, Oporto, Thingwall, duc *d'Aumale's* and M. *Bethune's.* *Named* in Bernd's *List*, vol. i. p. 80; Delandine's *Bib. de Lyons*, vol. ii. p. 179, No. 6383; and in Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 367.

8vo VOL., 7.08 *in.* × 4.33; *full page*, including marginal notes, 5.8 × 3.5; *devices*, 2.4 × 2.6.

Register: ã 8, c̃ 4 and ĩ 8, A–Fff, in 8s, and Ggg 4 = 420 leaves or 840 pages; numbered 1–816, and unnumbered 24 = 840.

Contents: ã 2, "Clavd. Minos Ivrisc. Lectori S.;" ã 3, Greek and Latin stanzas; ã–ĩ, "Claud. Minos Divion. Lectori Stvdioso et Candido," "Lutetiæ CIↃ.IↃ.LXXX.;" i *v*–i 2, opinions respecting Alciati; ĩ 3–ĩ 8, "V. C. Andreæ Alciati I. C. Mediol. Vita, per Cl. Minoem Ivrisc. scripta;" pp. 1–13, "Syntagma De Symbolis;" pp. 13–19, "De Emblemate;" pp. 20–679, Emblemata i–cxcvii; pp. 680–704, Arbores cxcviii–ccxiii, — should be ccxi; pp. 705–786, "Notae Posteriores;" pp. 787–801, "Interpretatio Græc. Epigramm," &c.; pp. 801–814, "Ad Alciati Emblem. Laudatio;" p. 815, "Emblematvm Index;" fff 2–Ggg 4, "Index Rervm et Verborvm."

The emblems, when the trees are counted 16, are 213. In substance this edition is the same with that of Plantin 1577, No. 93. The devices are less clearly cut than those in Plantin, and are less elegant.

142. DECLARACION MA- | GISTRAL SOBRE LAS EMBLEMAS DE | Andres Alciato con todas las Hiſtorias, Antigueda- | des, Moralidad, y Doctrina tocante a las | buenas coſtumbres. | *POR DIEGO LOPEZ, NATVRAL DE LA | Villa de Valencia de la Orden de Alcantara.* | DIRIGIDO A DON DIEGO HVRTADO DE | Mendoça, Cauallero de la Orden de Santiago, Señor de la caſa de | Mendoça, de la Corçana, y ſus Villas, Capitan, y Diputado Gene- | ral de la Prouincia, Ciudad de Victoria, y Hermandades, de | Alaua, por el Rey Nueſtro Señor. | (Device, *Coat of arms of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoça, with lions for supporters.*) CON PRIVILEGIO. | Impreſſo en la Ciudad de Najera por Iuan de Mongaſton, Año 1615. | A coſta del Autor. Vendenſe en caſa dell' impreſſor.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* British Museum, L'Escurial, Madrid N. and Oporto. *Named* in Antonio's *Bib. Hispana*, Romæ 1672, vol. i. p. 227.

4to VOL., 8.74 *in.* × 5.94; *full pages*, 7.28 × 5.; *devices*, 2.95 × 3.34.

Register: Initial 8 leaves unnumbered; 1–472 numbered; final 7 leaves unnumbered = 487 leaves or 974 pages.

Contents: On 2 pages, "El Rey," "Facha en Aranguez a treinta dias del mes de Abril il mil y seys cientos y enze años;" on 1 page, "Abbrobacion;" on 1 page, "Tassa;" on 2 pages, "Errata," Ded. "A Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoça, Cauallero, &c.;" on 1 page, "El Avtor a los Lectores;" on 5 pages, Spanish laudatory verses; on 1 page, Latin verses. Leaves 1–472, "Emblemas de Alciato;" on 14 pages, "Tabla de todas las casas notables."

The emblems, 1–210, have the Latin mottoes and stanzas, with devices followed by Spanish notes. These notes are original, though some of them are adapted from Mignault. There are no Greek quotations.

The devices, partly on wood and partly on copper, are better than those in any other Spanish edition, yet rude enough.

The two copies at Keir bear the signature of Diego Lopez at the end of the "Priuilegio;" it seems therefore probable that he signed all the copies. For a very brief account of Lopez see Alciati's *Life*, p. 89.

143. Les | EMBLEMES | de M. Andre' | Alciat, | Traduits en rime Françoiſe, enrichis de | belles figures, & eſclarcis par petits | commentaires, leſquels expliquent les | fables & hiſtoires qui y ſont conte- | nues. | (Typographical mark, *Two serpents, one biting the head of the other, and both having their tails knotted;* motto, "qvod tibi | fieri non | vis, alteri | ne feceris.") *A Cologny*, | par Iean de Tovrnes. | m.d cxv.

Collation copy: In the library at Bâle. *Named* by Van der Helle in his *Catalogue*, Paris 1868, No. 1613, who thus entitles it: "1613 Les Emblêmes de M. André Alciat, *trad.* en rimes françoises, enriches de belles figures et eiclercis (*sic*) par petits commentaires. *A Cologne*, par *Jean de Tournes*, 1615, en 16. fauve, fil. tr. dor.

For a Cologne Latin edition, 1614, see No. 138, and for a Genevese Latin edition, 1614, No. 139.

16mo Vol., 12 *centim.* × 8., or 4.72 Eng. *in.* × 1.96; *full page*, about 10. *centim.* × 6., or 3.93 *in.* × 2.36; *devices*, about 4. *centim.* × 5.5, or 1.57 *in.* × 2.16.

Register: A–Q in 8s = 128 leaves or 256 pages; 2 not numbered; 3–256 numbered = 256.

Contents: pp. 3, 4, "I. de T. au lecteur S.;" p. 5, "Sur le tiltre du luire;" p. 6, "Preface d' Andre Alciat, à Conrad Peutinger d'Auspurg, sur le liuvre de ses Emblemes ou Bigarreures;" pp. 7–157, "Premier Livre;" pp. 157–256, "Second Livre."

Observations: The plates are the same as in the edition "Coloniæ Allobrogum Apud Ioan. Tornæsium, 1614," No. 138. Only the plate to emblem xxiii of the second book of the Latin edition of 1614 is wanting in the French edition of 1615; while this has

a plate for emblem xxiiii of the second book which is wanting in the Latin edition.

The plates of the first book are already found in De Tourne's edition, *a Lyon* 1555, No. 56, or 1548, No. 33, with the exception of emblems xxvi, xc and cii. The French verses since 1555 have undergone some change.

144. AND. ALCIATI | EMBLEMATA | AD QVÆ SINGVLA, PRÆTER | concinnas inſcriptiones, imagines, | a caetera, quae ad ornatum eſt | correctionem adhibita | continebantur, | NVNC RECENS ADIECTA SVNT | epimythia, quibus Emblematum, amplitudo, | et quae in ijs dubia ſunt, aut obſcura | illuſtrantur. | (Typographic mark, Roville's *Eagle and serpent;* motto, "*In virtute et fortuna.*") LVGDVNI, APVD HÆRED. GVL. ROVILLII. | M.DC.XVI.

Colophon: FINIS.

Collation copy: In the library of the Royal university, Turin. *Other copy* not mentioned. *Named* by count Cicognara, *Catalogo dei libri de Arte e d'Antichita,* Pisa, 2 vols. 8vo, 1821, vol. i. p. 313, No. 1836.

16mo VOL., 17. *centim.* × 9., or 6.69 Eng. *in.* × 3.54; *full page,* 12. *centim.* × 7., or 4.72 *in.* × 2.75; *devices,* 6. *centim.* × 6.3, or 2.36 *in.* × 2. 48.

Register: A–R in 8s = 136 leaves or 272 pages; numbered 260; unnumbered 9; blank 3 = 272.

Contents: p. 3, "Ad lectorem;" p. 6, Alciati's preface to Peutinger; pp. 7–238, Emblemata cxcvi; pp. 239–260, Arbores xiv; in 9 pages, "Index emblematvm in locos commvnes digestorum."

The plates are from blocks of wood, and without monogram. Count Cicognara remarks of them: "They are the same intaglios on wood from the elegant edition of 1549, printed without borders."

145. ["D. And. Alciati . . . . . Opera Omnia. (4 vols. folio. Straſbourg, 1616."]

Authority: A copy in the Imperial library, Vienna, and Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. i. p. 149.

146. ["*Emblemi dell' Alciati volgarizzati dv* Paolo Emilio Cadamosto. In Padova 1616, in 8."]

Authority: Quadrio's *Storia e della Ragione d'ogni Poeste*, Milan 1741, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 419.

147. D. Andreae | ALCIATI | MEDIOLANENSIS | Jureconsulti | celeberrimi, | Opera Omnia, | In Qvatvor Tomos legitimè digeſta, | nativo ſuo decori reſtituta. Indice locuplettiſſimo adaucta. | (Printer's device, *Scientia immvtabilis.*) Francofvrti, | svmptibvs hæredum Lazari Zetneri. | Anno m.dc.xvii.

In the 4th volume, p. 877, also the title :

"Emblematum libellus ab ipso Auctore recognitus & auctus."

Collation copy: From the University library, Glasgow, for the first and second volumes. *Other copies:* Bâle, British Museum, Cambridge U., Copenhagen R., Dresden R., Edinburgh, Geneva, Gotha D., Lincoln's Inn, Madrid N., Salamanca, Salzburg, and Stockholm R. *Named* by Brunet, vol. i. p. 149; Graesse, vol. i. p. 62; and Mazzuchelli, vol. i. pp. 363–366.

Folio Vol., 15.65 *in.* × 10.; *full pages*, 12-9 × 57.8.

N.B. The copies of this edition in the British Museum and Lincoln's Inn, and may be in some others, refer, in the general table of contents, vol. i., to the "Opuscula" to be found in vol. iv.; but in volume iv. itself, the emblems do not occur, nor are they mentioned except in the "Elenchus."

148. OMNIA | ANDREAE ALCI-|ATI V. C. EMBLE- | MATA, | Cum Commentariis | qui-

bus emblematum | detecta origine, dubia | omnia, et obſcura illuſ. | trantur. | *Per Claud. Minoem I. C.* | *Acceſſerunt huic* | *editioni* FED. MORELLI PROFESS. REG. | *Decani Co-* | *rollaria et monita.* | PARISIIS, | *In officina Ioan. Richerii,* | *ſumptibus* | *Franciſci* | *Gueffier in uia D.* | *Ioannis lateranēſis* | *e regione Collegii* | *Cameracēſis,* | 1618. | *Cum Priui. Regis.*

The title is on a monumental border, at the top of which is a portrait of Alciati. The artist's name is "*Jaques de Weerts.*"

Collation copy: In the British Museum. *Other copies:* Florence N., Ghent U., Liege, and Madrid N. *Named* by Mazzuchelli, vol. i. p. 367.

8vo VOL., 6.85 *in.* 4. × 44; *pages* and *devices*, see Nos. 128 and 129.

Register: Exactly the same as in edition 1602, No. 129.

Contents: On ã ij, "Ad Inclytvm et excellentissimvm Principem Lvdovicvm De Bovrbon Comitẽ Svessionen. Magnum Franciæ Magistrum, Delphinatus Gubernatorem," &c.; "Fed. Morelli Professorum Reg. Decani *ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΤΙΚΟΝ*," Latin stanzas; ã 3 *v*, "Lectori," followed by Greek and Latin complimentary verses; ẽ ij, "Epistola Priorvm Editionvm," "Lutetiæ CIↃ.IↃ.LXXX;" ẽ vij *v*, "Vita Alciati;" ĩ vij, Scaliger, Gyraldus, Anulus and Toscanus. Except in having Morelli's corollaria the rest of the contents are the same as edition 1602, No. 129.

The emblems are i–ccxiii, a misprint for ccxi. The notes have an appendix and Morelli's corollaria. The devices are from the same blocks as those used in Richer's former editions. See Nos. 106, 107, 112, 114 and 128–131.

149. EMBLEMATA V. CL. | *ANDREAE ALCIATI,* | *cũ Imaginibus plerisque* | *reſtitutis ad mentem* | *Auctoris.* | *Adiecta compendioſa* | *explicatione Claudij* | *Minois Diuionenſis* | *et notulis extempora-* | *rijs Laurentij Pigno-* | *rij Patauini.* | (Device, *Arms*

surmounted by a cardinal's hat.) *Patauij apud Pet. Paulum Tozzium.* M.DCXIIX. (1618.)

The title-page is very fine, in the monumental style, and has on the top a portrait of Alciati.

Colophon: FINIS. "Superiorum Permiſſu."

Collation copy: From the library at Thingwall. *Other copies:* Keir, Milan Aınb., and Venice St. Mark's. *Named* by R. Weigel, No. 20151; *Cat. du Roy*, Paris, vol. ii. p. 154, No. 1501; and Mazzuchelli, vol. i. p. 367.

8vo VOL., 5.7 *in.* × 3.85; *full pages*, 4.92 × 2.75; *devices*, 2.16 *in.* square.

Register: a–c and A–Aa in 8s = 216 leaves or 432 pages; initial 48 pages not numbered; 2–383 (by mistake printed 283) numbered, and 1 blank = 432 pages.

Contents: a 2, 3, "Illustrissimo ac Reuerendissimo D. Io. Baptistae Card. Lenio Tit. Sixti, Episcopo Ferrariensi, Petrus Paulus Tozzius," &c., "Kal. Julij, anni M.DC.XIIX.;" a 4–b, "Vita Alciati per Cl. Minoem;" B 2 *v*–5, "Lavrentivs Pignorivs Lectori;" B 5 *v*–C 5, "Ad Praefationem Emb.;" c 6–8, "Testimonia et Indiculus;" pp. 1–374, Emblemata i–ccxi; pp. 375–383, "Index Emblematum."

The notes to the 211 emblems are abbreviated from Minos. Among the woodcuts there is at sig. c 3 an extraordinary representation of a locust and a nondescript six-legged winged creature, reference being made to emblem cxxvii, p. 227, and to the devastation of Insubria and Venice in August 1541.

The title-page is from a copperplate, and according to Weigel's *Catalog.* No. 20151, the many good Italian woodcuts are copies from those in Plantin's editions of Alciati's emblems which bear the mark A.

Laurentius Pignorius, born at Padua in 1571, and dying there of the plague in 1631, was a learned man, and especially celebrated for his efforts to illustrate Egyptian antiquities. The chief of his works are named by Brunet, vol. iv. p. 652, but there were several others not in the list.

150. ["Emblemata V. Cl. Andreae Alciati . . . . . Patavii, apud Petrum Paulum Tozzium. 8vo, 1619."]

Authority: Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, Brescia 1751, vol. i. p. 367.

151. IL | PRINCIPE | *Del Signor* | GIVLIO CESARE | CAPACCIO | *Gentil' huomo del Sereniſſimo Signor Duca d'Vrbino;* | Tratto da gli EMBLEMI dell' ALCIATO, | Con ducento e più | AVVERTIMENTO POLITICI | E. MORALI. | Vtilliſſimi à qualunque SIGNORE per l'ottima eruditione | di Coſtumi, Economia e GOVERNO di STATI. | *Con due copioſe Tauole, l'vna di gli Emblemi, & l'altra delle coſe più notabili.* | AL SERENISSIMO | FEDERICO II. | *di Montefeltro della Rouere* | PRINCIPE D'VRBINO. | (Device, *A hand holding a serpent by the fangs;* motto, "QVIS CONTRA NOS.") IN VENETIA, M.DC.XX. | Appreſſo Barezzo Barezzi. | *Con Licenza de' Superiori, et Priuilegi.*

Colophon: (A "Regiſtro," and a device similar to that on the title-page; motto, "SI DEVS PRO NOBIS, QVIS CONTRA NOS.) IN VENETIA, M.DC.XX. | Appreſſo Barezzo Barezzi. | *Con Licentia de' Superiori, et Priuilegi.*"

Collation copy: From the library of Keir. *No copy* has been found in the University library, Cambridge, nor in the Bodleian, nor in the British Museum. On application to several libraries in Italy, as at Naples, Modena, Florence, Turin, the Ambrosian (Milan), and St. Mark's, Venice, no informatioa has been given respecting it. The *Bib. Casanab. Cat. Audiffredi* however names it, vol. i. p. 91.

4to VOL., 8.77 *in.* × 6.18; *full pages*, including marginal notes, 7.2 × 4.84; *no devices.*

Register: a–d, in 4s, A B in 4s, C–Ff in 8s = 440 leaves or 480 pages; initial 32 unnumbered; 1–445 numbered; 1 unnumbered, and 2 blank = 480 pages.

Contents: On a 2, "Serenissimo Principe;" "Da Casteldurante a' 20. di Nouemb. 1619;" "Giulio Cesare Capaccio;" a 3, 4,

"Ai Lettori;" b, "Barezzo Barezzi a chi legge;" b *v*, "Approbatio;" b 2–4, "Tavola de gli Emblemi;" c–d 4, "Tavola delle Cose piv Memorabili;" pp. 1–445, "Il Principe del Capaccio," emblems i–cci; colophon.

There are 189 emblems, strictly so called, the last being Mazentius; but of trees 12, the last not having a number placed to it. The total is 201. Neither the Latin mottoes nor the stanzas of Alciati are inserted; but to each emblem and tree there are given in Italian: 1° the motto or title; 2° the nature of the device; 3° the translation in Italian verse; and 4° an "avvertimento," or exposition. The emblems omitted are 46, 62, 112, 118, 119, 120, 155, 156, 206, 208 and 211, but a new one is inscribed "Cedro."

At pp. 61 and 62 of Alciati's *Life*, examples are given of the translation of the emblem vii, "*Non tibi, sed religioni*," into Italian verse by Marquale, Cadamosto and Amalteo; we add here Capaccio's translation of the same stanzas:

"*Si porta rispetto alla Religione*

Asino, et Imagine

La bell' imago hauea d'Iside in dorso
Vn' asinel, che visto
Riuerente chinarsi il popol misto,
Si fè gonfio, e ritroso;
E tosto diuenuto baldanzoso,
Disse; Tal merto è'l mio?
Gli rispose il flagello; Hor segui il corso,
Non vedi, bestial, che porti vn Dio?"

The "Avvertimento" which Capaccio appends to his translation shows how readily under his hands a meaning applicable to state policy and the princely bearing may be extracted from Alciati's emblems. Tiberius, he informs us, exiled Lucilius Capito for having a guard of soldiers to which his office did not entitle him; Augustus condemned Cornelius Gallus for insolently assuming honours in Egypt. On the other hand, Cato of Utica is praised for his modesty, and in declaring that officials are servants, not masters; princes are exhorted to have a prudent eye over the excessive authority of their magistrates; and courtiers should not be haughty in discharging their functions.

After a similar fashion are composed the other notes of the author; it is easy therefore to see, that with far greater appropriateness than was at first apparent, he gives to his work the high title of "IL PRINCIPE," and names his "Avvertimenti" "Politici e Morali."

Capaccio was tutor to Frederick II., prince of Urbino, son (or more probably grandson) of Francisco Maria del Rovere, nephew of pope Julius II. He had been secretary to the city of Naples, and was himself an emblematist of no mean fame.[88] He wrote also a *History of Naples*, published in 1607.

152. V. Cl. ANDREÆ ALCIATI | EMBLEMATA | cum Commentarijs ampliſſimis.

This is a fine frontispiece title, with splendid emblematical border.

ANDREÆ ALCIATI | EMBLEMATA | CVM COMMENTARIIS | CLAVDII MINOIS I. C. FRANCISCI SANCTII BROCENCIS, | et Notis | LAVRENTII PIGNORII PATAVINI. | *Nouiſſima hac editione in continuam vnius Commentarii ſeriem congeſtis, in certas quaſ-* | *dam quaſi Claſſes diſpoſitis, et pluſquam dimidia parte auctis.* | OPERA ET VIGILIIS | IOANNIS THVILII MARIAEMONTANI TIROL. | Phil. & Med. D. atq; olim in Archiduc. Friburg. Briſgoiæ | Vniuerſitate Human. liter. Profeſſoris

[88] See "DELLI IMPRESE trattato Di Givlio Cesare Capaccio. In tre Libri diuiso." "In Napoli Appresso Gio. Giacomo Carlino, & Antonio Pace. 1592." 4to. book i. leaves 84; book ii. leaves 148; book iii. leaves 60;—all with many well-executed woodcuts.

Also, "GLI APOLOGI del Signor Givlio Cesare Capaccio, Gentil' huomo del Serenissimo Signor Duca d'Vrbino; con le DICERIE MORALI, &c. Venetia, M.DC.XIX. Appresso Barezzo Barezzi." The earlier editions were printed in Naples in 1602 and 1607, sm. 8vo.

ordinarii. | Opus Copiosa Sententiarum, Apophthegmatum, Adagiorum, Fabularum, Mythologiarum Hiero- | glyphicorum, Nummorum Picturarum & Linguarum varietate inſtructum & exornatum : | Proinde omnibus Antiquitatis & bonarum litterarum ſtudioſis cum primis viris. | *Acceſſerunt in fine Federici Morelli Profeſſoris Regii Corollaria &* | *Monita, ad eadem Emblemata.* | Cvm Indice Triplici. | (Device, *Angels holding an oval glory;* within it, I.H.S.) Patauij apud Petrum Paulum Tozzium. | *Sub Signo S. S. Nominis Iesv.* 1621.

Colophon: "Patavii, | Ex Typographia Laurentii Pasquati. M.DC.XXI."

Within an extraordinary fine device, *A dog reading;* motto, "Canē lectu sternere magnus labor."

Collation copies: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* Avignon, Bâle, Berlin I., Bodleian, Bologna U., British Museum, Cambridge U., Catana, Copenhagen R., Ferrara, Florence N., the Hague R., Leyden U., Madrid N., Messina, Milan Amb., Modena Pal., Munich Pub. and U., Naples N., Pisa U., Rimini, Siena, Thingwall, Turin R. U., Ulm, Venice St. Marks, Verona, Mr. *Bates*, Birmingham, Mr. *Cautley*, Dr. *Leemans*, Leyden, and the *Mazarine*, Paris. *Named* in Bernd's *List*, p. 80; *Cat. Bib. Borbon.*, Naples 1832, vol. i. p. 58; *Cat. du Roy*, Paris 1750, vol. ii. p. 154; Cicognara's *Cat.*, vol. i. p. 314; and Graesse, vol. i. p. 62.

4to Vol., 9.84 *in.* × 6.77; *full pages*, with marginal notes, 7.48 × 5.31; *devices*, 3.34 *in.* square.

Register: a–e in 8s = 40 leaves or 80 pages, i–lxxx; A–Qqq in 8s, Rrr 6 = 502 leaves or 1004 pages; numbered 1–1003; colophon 1 = 1004 pages; total, 1084.

Contents: pp. v, vi, "Reuerendissimo Patri ac Domino D. Malao de Oddis, Monasterij celeberrimi Sancti Benedicti, Patauini Abbati optimè merito, Petrus Paulus Tozzius Bibliopola S.P.D.;" pp. vii–xii, "Præfatio Ioannis Thvilii Mariæmontani Tirol, De novissima hac sva Emblematvm Alciati editione;" pp. xiii–xvi, "Vita Alciati per Cl. Minoem;" pp. xxxvi–xxxvii, various sets of verses; pp.

xxxix–xliv, "Claudii Minois Epistola priorum editionum;" pp. xlv–lxiv, "Syntagma De Symbolis;" pp. lxv–lxxiv, "Oratio Minois," "Ex Kal. Maias 1576;" pp. lxxv–lxxvii, "Index Emblematvm in locos communes;" 1–212; pp. lxxviii–lxxx, "Index alter Emblematum." Pp. 1–6, "Præfatio ad Ch. Peutingerum;" pp. 9–889, "Andreae Alciati Emblemata," i–ccxii;" p. 889, "Epilogvs Ioannis Thuilii Mariæmontani;" pp. 890–905, "Frederici Morelli Corollaria;" pp. 906–1000, "Index Rerum et Verborum;" colophon.

After being banished from very many editions the offensive device, emblem lxxx, is again introduced, raising the number of emblems to 212.

Of the 212 devices, 211 are all from the same new blocks as the Paduan edition 1616, No. 149. Mazzuchelli avers, vol. i. p. 366, No. 112, that owing to the introduction of the offensive device to emblem lxxx, the emblems of Alciati were prohibited in the index of Spain, "*donec corrigantur*" until they were amended.

The work nevertheless is a noble monument of learned labour.

153. ["Andreae Alciati V. C. Emblemata . . . . . Lugd. Bat. 4to. 1621."]

Authority: Bernd's *Allg. Schriften-kunde der gesammten Wappenwissenschaft*, Bonn 1820, vol. i. p. 80.

154. Emblemata | v. c. | ANDREAE ALCIATI | Mediolanensis | Ivrisconsvlti, | Cum facili & compendiosa explicatione, qua ob | scura illustrantur, dubiaque omnia soluuntur. | Per Clavdivm Minoem | Diuionensem. | *Eiusdem* Alciati *vita.* | (Plantin's *device.*) Antverpiæ, | Ex officina Plantiniana, | Apud Balthasarem Moretum, & Viduam | Ioannis Moreti, & I. Meursium. | M.DC.XXII.

Colophon: "Antverpiæ, | Ex officina Plantiniana | Balthasaris Moreti. | M.DC.XXII."

Collation copy: From the library of Keir. *Other copies:* Bologna Arch., British Museum, Dresden R., Ghent U., Madrid N., and Saragossa U. *Named* in Bernd's *List*, p. 80.

16mo Vol., 4.72 *in.* × 3.34; *full pages*, 3.85 × 2.36; *devices*, about 2.2 *in.* square.

Register: Identical with edition 1591, No. 118.

Contents: Except by inserting an *approbatio* at p. 8, the contents of this edition, No. 154, are the same with those of edition 1591, No. 118; so are the emblems and devices, which are from the old blocks.

155. Emblemi | di | ANDREA ALCIATO | hvomo chiarissimo | Dal Latino Nel Vulgare Italiano Ridotti | *Contenenti Il Fiore Et la Soſtanza* | De Più Scelte Scrittori & Delle Più Celebri Diſci- | pline dell' Vniuerſo | Ripieno di Ottimi Conſigli & Saluteuoli Documenti. | *Per l' Vſo Ciuile Et Morale della Vita Humana.* | Dedicatí | Al M. Illvstre Sig. | Giacomo Pighetti. | (Device, | ✠ H S). In Padoua per P. P. Tozzi. m.dc.xxvi.

This is the first title; the second title follows:

Emblemata | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | viri clarissimi | Latinè Ac Italicè *Edita* Pavlo Æmilio | Cadmvsto | *Patr. Vicetino Interprete.*

Colophon: "Patavii, | Ex Typographia Petri Pauli Tozzij. | m.dc.xxvi. | Svperiorvm Permissv."

Collation copy: In the library of the British Museum. *Other copies*: At the Bodleian, Bologna Arch., Copenhagen R., Florence N., Keir, Milan Amb., Rimini, Venice St. Mark's, and Verona. *Named* in Graesse's *Trésor*, vol. i. p. 62; Bernd's *Allg. Schriftenkunde*, vol. i. p. 81; and Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori*, vol. i. p. 367.

Sm. 8vo Vol., 6.41 *in.* × 4.35; *full pages*, 5.11 × 3.34; *devices*, about 2.12 *in.* square.

Register: † in 4, A-X in 8s, Y in 4 = 176 leaves or 352 pages; initial 8 unnumbered; 1–343 numbered; 1 blank = 352 pages.

Contents: On sig. † 2, "Al Illvstre Sig. Mic. Colendiss," "A di 6 Decembre 1625;" "Pietro Pavlo Tozzi;" † 3, the second title; † 3 *v*, dedication, "Cadmvstis Fratribvs Gemellæque Sorori Virginiæ," &c., "Fert Pavlvs Datque Æmilius;" † 4, "Præfatio ad Ch. Pevtingervm Augustanum;" pp. 1–312, "Andreæ Alciati Emblemata," i–ccxii; pp. 313–324; "Index capitvm Emblematvm;" pp. 325–334, "Tavola de' Principii Di gli Emblemi Italiani;" pp. 335–337, "Varie Lettioni;" pp. 338–343, "Errori;" p. 343, colophon.

In order, the parts of the 212 emblems are thus arranged: 1° the Latin motto, the device, and Latin stanza; 2° the Italian motto and translation.

The devices are taken from Tozzi's former editions.

For an example of this translation see Alciati's *Life*, p. 62. Of P. E. Cadamosto no mention is made in Tiraboschi's *Storia della Litteratura Italiana;* but Francisco S. Quadrio states:[89] "Paulo Emilio Cadamosto, by country from Vicenza, was a gentleman by birth, a scholar of Cesare Cremonini, and a good philosopher." Elsewhere he uses a very depreciating expression respecting the translator: "*Emblemi dell Alciati volgarizzati* da Paulo Emilio Cadamosto."

156. Clarissimi Viri | DN. ANDREÆ | Alciati Emble- | *matum libri duo* | Aucti & reſtituti, et perelegantibus | figuris illuſtrati. | *Cum ſuccinctis Commentariolis* | *Additus eſt index locupletiſſimus.* | (Device, *A serpent encircling a wreath;* motto, "QUOD TIBI | FIERI NON | VIS, ALTERI | NE FECERIS." | *Genevæ.* | Typis et ſumptibus Ioannis de Tournes. | CIↃ.IↃC.XXVIII.

[89] See *Indice Universale della Storia e ragione d'ogni Poesie*, Milan, 4to, 1752, vol. iii. pp. 317 and 419.

Collation copy: In the library of Wm. *Bates*, esq., Birmingham. *Other copy:* At Wiesbaden.

16mo Vol., 4.75 *in.* × 3.25; *full pages*, 3.75 × 2.5; *devices*, 1.43 × 1.93.

Register: Initial pages 14, unnumbered; final 12 unnumbered; 1–258 numbered; total, 284 pages.

Contents: On 3 pages, "Ioan. Tornæsius Lectori S.;" on 3 pages, "Magnifico, generoso atque illustri Domino Ioanni Menesio Sotomajor Domino in Cantanhede," &c., "Sebastianus Stockhamerus Germanus S.;" on 6 pages, "De Alciato excerpta ex Laudatione Cl. Minois ad Emblemata;" on 1 page, "In titulum libelli; Præfatio ad D. Ch. Peutingerum;" pp. 1–241, Emblemata; on 12 pages, "Index Rerum et Verborum," &c.

For a similar edition by De Tournes see *Catalogue*, No. 138.

157. ["Emblemata V. C. Andreæ Alciati . . . . . Antverpiæ. 8vo. 1632."]

Authority: Bernd's *Allgem. Schriften-kunde*, &c., Bonn 1850, vol. i. p. 80.

158 ["Emblemata V. C. Andreæ Alciati . . . . . Amstelodami. 8vo. 1635."]

Authority: Bernd's *Allgem. Schriften-kunde*, &c., Bonn 1850, vol. i. p. 80.

158 a. EMBLEMES | *Illuſtrated* | *by* | Geo. Wither.

Printed on a globe. This is the title for the Frontispiece, to which itself there is a Preposition of 46 lines of verse. The frontispiece, which is highly emblematical, fills a whole page, and bears on it, "*Will. Marshall. sculpt.*"

A | COLLECTION | OF | EMBLEMES, | ANCIENT AND | MODERNE: | Quickened | With Metricall Illvstrations, both | *Morall* and *Divine*. And diſpoſed into | Lotteries, | That *Inſtruction*, and *Good Counsell*, may bee furthered | by an Honeſt and Pleaſant *Recreation*. | *By* George Wither. | *The Firſt Booke.* | (Within an ornamented border, *A winged death's head, scythe and hour glass;* motto,

"NON PLUS.") LONDON, | Printed by *A. M.* for *Robert Milbourne*, and | are to be sold at the *Gray-hound* in *Pauls Church-* | *yard.* M.DC.XXXV.

There are four other imprints met with for the title of this first book, namely, for *Robert Allot*, *John Grismond*, *Richard Royston*, and *Henry Taunton*.

The following is the IMPRINT to books, 2, 3 and 4:

LONDON, | Printed by AVGVSTINE MATHEVVES. | M.DC.XXXIV.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir. *Other copies:* British Museum, Thingwall, &c., Mr. *Cautley's*, and Mr. *Corser's* (with five imprints of the title-page of the first book), Mr. *Huth's*, &c.; and *references* in Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. v. col. 1466–1467; Hazlitt's *Bibl. Old Eng. Lit.*, p. 866; and Lowndes's *Bib. Man.*, vol. iv. p. 2966.

Folio VOL., 11.78 *in.* × 7.67; *frontispiece*, 10.94 × 6.49; *full pages*, within the lines, about 10.55 × 5.27; *devices*, in circles, diameter about 5.74 *in.*; *lottery plate*, 10.31 × 4.92.

Register: The signatures and pagination are very irregular, the latter passing from p. 124 to p. 135, and p. 196 to p. 209. The true number of leaves in a perfect copy is 148, making 296 pages, of which the unnumbered pages are 48, and the numbered 248,—by miscounting printed 270.

The *Contents* of the work, divided into *four* books by Wither, with what he terms "Lotteries" added to each,[90] are, as far as the copperplates, mottoes and subjects are concerned, almost identical with those of the NVCLEVS EMBLEMATVM, 1611–1613, by Gabriel Rollenhagen, to which the plates were contributed by Crispin De Passe. See No. 137 a.

It has been chiefly owing to a passage in the *Retrospective Review*, vol. ix. pp. 125–131, that Wither has been regarded as extensively an imitator and close follower of Alciati. Thus, p. 125:

"Alciatus, in his leisure hours, composed his book of emblems, the first edition of which was published in 1535,[91] and to him

[90] "To advance the booksellers' profits," says the *Retrospective Review*, vol. ix. p. 131, "Wither added lotteries to the emblems." The idea probably was taken from John David's VERIDICVS CHRISTIANVS, *Antv.*, 4to, 1601, pp. 350–374, where the lottery is termed ORBITA PROBITATIS ad Christi imitationem veridico Christiano svbserviens.

[91] See Alciati's *Life*, pp. 9. 10, and *Bib. Catalogue*, No. 8, p. 125.

many subsequent writers of emblems have been indebted, particularly Wither, who has adopted a great many of his designs."

The reviewer then extracts two of the illustrations: *one* is Alciati's 120th emblem, the *other* his 177th; the designs being, *A man with wings on the right hand, but kept down by a heavy weight on the other*; and *A helmet, in which bees have made honey.* Wither, in the 42nd illustration of his 3rd book, "gives an accurate description of this print," *i.e.* of emblem 120; and in the 28th illustration, book 2nd, Wither has to emblem 177 made "the addition of certain implements of war. The commencement of it will serve as a translation of that of Alciatus, though the point is lost,"

From these instances it is left to be inferred that Wither frequently imitated and sometimes translated Alciati's emblems, and the inference is strengthened in vol. ix. p. 131:

"Many of the prints and illustrations, especially the former, are borrowed from Alciatus, and such as he has made use of are amplified, and frequently, though not always, improved. All the illustrations consist of thirty lines each, a limitation which, as might be expected, is sometimes productive of weakness. The general character of Wither's emblems is that of sound morality, enforced in a sensible style, tinctured with warm religious feelings, and some of them adorned with a few fresh and fragrant flowers of poetry."

Now there are no emblems and illustrations among the two hundred employed by Wither in his *four* books which did not appear before in the NVCLEVS by Rollenhagen, No. 137 a; but the NVCLEVS EMBLEMATVM has only from twelve to fifteen emblems traceable to either designs or stanzas published by Alciati, and Wither has no more.[92]

Our conclusion is, though Wither offers several instances in

[92] They are:

Wither's Illust.	I. 2,	to Alciati's Emb.	157.	Wither's Illust.	III. 4,	to Alciati's Emb.	18.
,,	3,	,,	121.	,,	22,	,,	4.
,,	10,	,,	89.	,,	27,	,,	157.
,,	II. 10,	,,	143.	,,	40,	,,	121.
,,	18,	,,	41.	,,	42,	,,	120.
,,	26,	,,	118.	,,	45,	,,	40.
,,	28,	,,	177.	,,	IV. 42,	,,	148.

which he imitates Alciati, as he imitates Symeoni, Whitney, and others, — he is not to be ranked among the English writers who have to any great degree found their originals in the old emblems of Milan. Perhaps not above two or three of Wither's illustrations can be rightly named translations from Alciati.

159. Clariss. viri | DN. ANDREÆ ALCIATI | Emblematum libri duo, | Aucti & reſtituti, & *perelegantibus* | *figuris illuſtrati.* | Cum ſuccinctis Commentariolis | *Additus eſt index locupletiſſimus.* | (Device, *Serpent enclosing a shield;* motto, "QVOD TIBI | FIERI NON | VIS ALTERI | NE FECERIS.") Sumptibus Ioannis de Tournes, | Reip. & Academiæ Typographi. | M.DC.XXXIX.

Collation copy: In the Bodleian library, *Douce* No. 23. *Named* in Bernd's *Allg. Schriften-kunde*, vol. i. p. 80; and in Delandine's *Bibl. de Lyon*, vol. ii. p 179, No. 6585.

16mo Vol., 4.72 *in.* × 3.14; *full pages*, 3.93 × 2.24; *devices*, about 1.37 × 1.85.

Register: ¶ 8, a–q in 8s, r 6 = 142 leaves or 284 pages; initial 16 unnumbered; 1–257 numbered; 11 unnumbered = 284.

Contents: See edition 1628, No. 156.

There are 199 emblems; — many are without devices, but all have Latin mottoes, stanzas and commentaries.

In Douce's copy it is recorded: "There are 121 cuts in this copy, or 8 more than in that of 1561 by the same printer. It has also the addition of a second book. Same designs, but different cuts, as in Plantin's editions."

160. Emblemata | v. c. | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | mediolanensis Ivrisconsvlti; | Cum facili & compendioſa explicatione, | quâ obſcura illuſtrantur, dubiaque | omnia ſoluuntur, | per Clavdivm Minoem | Diuionenſem. | *Eiuſdem* Alciati

Vita. | (Plantin's *device*, "LABORE ET CONSTANTIA.") ANTVERPIÆ, | EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA, | BALTHASARIS MORETI. | M.DC.XLVIII.

Colophon: Preceding the device, "ANTVERPIÆ, | EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA, | BALTHASARIS MORETI. | M.DC.XLVIII."

Collation copy: From the library of Mr. *Corser*, now at Keir. *Other copies:* Bodleian, Einsiedeln and Lucca. *Named* in Bernd's *Allg. Schriften-kunde*, vol. i. p. 80; and Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori*, vol. i. p. 367.

16mo VOL., 4.44 *in.* × 2.95; *full pages*, 3.95 × 2.4; *devices*, about 2.2 *in.* square.

Register: A–Z in 8s, a 8 and b 8 = 200 leaves or 400 pages; numbered 1–392; then unnumbered 7 pages, and 1 blank = 400 pages.

Contents: On page 3, "Clavd. Minos Christophoro Plantino svo," "Lutetiæ, Nonis Sextil. M.D.LXXXIII;" p. 8, "Approbatio & Svmma Priuilegii;" pp. 9–13, "De Emblemate;" p. 14, "Præfatio;" pp. 15–250, "Emblemata," i–ccxi; pp. 251–380, "Claudii Minois Explicationes;" pp. 381–392, "Vita Andreæ Alciati." Then "Emblematvm Index," colophon and device of the printer.

The devices appear to have been struck, or at least copied, from the time-honoured blocks of the Plantinian press, — several bearing the monogram A; see *Life*, p. 85. Douce's copy affirms: "The cuts were engraved by Anthony Van Leest."

161. ["Clariff. viri D. And. Alciati Emblemata. . . . . Genevæ. 16mo. 1648."]

Authority: Bernd's *Allg. Schriften-kunde*, Bonn 1830, vol. i. p. 80. The reference probably to an edition by De Tournes, who in 1639 had issued an edition, No. 159.

162. ["Alciati (A.) Emblemata . . . . . 4to. *Antv.* 1648."]

Authority: "Symbola et Emblemata quæ in BIBLIOTHECA BLANDFORDIENSE reperiuntur, 1809," p. 3.

163. NICOLAI VERNVLÆI | Cæſarei Regijque Hiſtoriographi, et Publici Elo-|quentiæ ac Politices Profeſſoris Louanij, | IMPERATORVM | *ſymbola* | Præclaris Regum, Principiumque nec non variorum | Scriptorum exemplis illuſtrata. | Quibus accedit | COMMENTARIVS | IN ANDREÆ ALCIATI | EMBLEMATA | vſque ad Emblema xv. | Omnia nunc primùm edita. | (*Vignette.*) Typis ac ſumptibus IUDOCI COPPENS. | Sub ſigno albi Monachi.

Colophon: None properly so called, but on the last page: "CENSVRA | Qva in Symbola diuerſorum & | Emblemata Alciati hoc opuſ- | culo ſcripſit Eruditiſſimus NICOLAVS | VERNVLÆVS &c. prælo & publica | luce digna cenſeo. Datum Louanij | die 26 Septemb. 1650. | *IACOBVS PINTANVS*, S. T. Doctor | & Librorum Cenſor."

Collation copy: In the Royal library of the Hague. Some other works by this author are named in Brunet's *Manuel*, vol. v. col. 1145, with a reference to Paquot (vol. iii. p. 432, ed. 8vo) for a list of his works.

4to VOL., 19.8 *centim.* × 15.4, or 7.79 Eng. *in.* × 6.06; *full pages*, 16.8 *centim.* × 11., or 6.61 *in.* × 4.33.

Register: Without sig. 4 leaves; A–Eee in 4s=218 leaves or 436 pages; numbered 1–427; unnumbered 8; blank 1=436.

Contents: pp. (3, 4), dedication, "Sereniss. Principi Carolo Lotharingiæ et Barræ duci," "Elisabetha Vernulæa;"[93] pp. (5, 6), various stanzas; pp. (7, 8), "Sylloge nominum et symbolorum Imperatorum." Pp. 1–376, explanation of the symbols; p. 377, the stanzas the author wrote just at his death in M.DC.XLIX. On pages 381–427, "COMMENTARIVS in Andreæ Alciati emblemata," emblems iii–xv.

Nicholas Vernulæus was professor of belles lettres at

[93] Niece of the author.

Louvain, where he died 1649, having been the author of several works. It was his niece Elisabetha Vernulæa who edited the *Commentarius.*

164. DECLARACION | MAGISTRAL | SOBRE LAS EMBLEMAS DE ANDRES ALCIATI | . . . . . *PER DIEGO LOPEZ NATURAL* | de la villa de Valencia . . . . . Año 1655.

The title and colophon are in the words of the Lisbon collation.

Colophon: "Valencia por Geronimo Vilagraſſa."

Collation copy: In the National library, Lisbon. *Other copy:* At Berlin I. *Named* in Antonio's *Bib. Hisp.*,[94] Matriti 1783–1788, vol. i. pp. 227 and 294.

4to VOL., 20. *centim.* × 15., or 7.87 Eng. *in.* × 5.9; *devices*, about 9. *centim.* square, or 3.54 *in.* square (doubtful).

Register: Pages numbered 648; unnumbered 22; blank 2 = 672 pages.

Contents: Not given. See edition 1615, No. 142.

Emblems ccxi.

165. V. CL. | ANDREÆ | ALCIATI | EMBLEMATA | CVM | Commentariis | ampliſſimis. | PATAVII, | *Typis Pauli Framboti.* | M.DCLXI.

The frontispiece, in which the above title is inserted, is very finely designed and engraved by *Ruphanus*, and represents twelve emblematical or symbolical subjects. Among all the editions of Alciati's emblems there is no frontispiece equal to this.

ANDREÆ ALCIATI | EMBLEMATA | CVM COMMENTARIIS | CLAVDII MINOIS I. C. FRANCISCI SANCTII BROCENCIS, | & Notis | LAVRENTII PIGNORII PATAVINI. | *Nouiſſima hac editione in continuam vnius Commentarij ſeriem congeſtis, in certas quaſ-* | *dam quaſi Claſſes*

[94] Thus: "Emblemas de Alciato *con la explication del Autor*, Valentiæ, apud Hieronymaum Villagrassa, 1655, 4."

diſpoſitis, & pluſquam dimidia parte auctis. | OPERA ET VIGILIIS | IOANNIS THVILII MARIAEMONTANI TIROL. | Phil. et Med. D. atq; olim in Archiduc. Friburg. Briſgoiæ | Vniuerſitate Human. liter. Profeſſoris ordinarij. | Opus Copioſa Sententiarum, Apophthegmatum, Adagiorum, Fabularum, Mythologiarum Hiero- | glyphicorum, Nummorum, Picturarum & Linguarum varietate inſtructum & exornatum : | Proinde omnibus Antiquitatis & bonarum literarum ſtudioſis cum primis vtile. | *Acceſſerunt in fine Federici Morelli Profeſſoris Regij Corollaria &* | *Monita, ad eadem Emblemata.* | CVM INDICE TRIPLICI. | (Printer's device, *A fruitful tree;* motto, "EN PACIS OPUS.") Patauij, typis Pauli Frambotti Bibliopolæ. MDCLXI. | *Cum conſenſu Superiorum.*

This title, as far as the words *Cvm indici triplici*, is exactly the same with that of edition 1621, No. 152.

Colophon: "Patavij, ex Typographia Pauli Frambotti. M.DC.LXI." (*Device.*) "Superiorum Permiſſu."

Collation copies: From the libraries of Keir and Thingwall. *Other copies:* Bremen, Cambridge U., Catana, Copenhagen R., Dresden R., Florence N., Kensington S., Kiel, Königsberg, Munich Pub., Naples N., Oporto, Salzburg, Stuttgart R., Venice St. Mark's, and Vienna I. *Named* in Bayle's *Diction.;* Brunet's *Manuel,* vol. i. col. 148; *Cat. Bib. Borbon,* Naples 1832, vol. i. p. 58; and Mazzachelli's *Scrittori,* vol. i. p. 369.

4to VOL., 9.05 *in.* × 6.49; *frontispiece,* 7.32 × 5.31; *full pages,* 7.26 × 5.11; *devices,* about 3.54 × 4.33.

Register: a–e in 8s = 40 leaves or 80 pages, numbered i–lxxx; A–Qqq in 8s, Rrr in 6 = 502 leaves or 1004 pages; numbered 1–1001; colophon 1, and 2 blank = 1004; total, 1086 pages.

Contents: i–iv, titles; v, vi, "Illustriss. ac Generosiss. D. D. Ivlio Cæsari A Pace Gymnasii Patavini Syndico protectori Paulus Frambottus felicitatem." "Patavij Cal. Iunij M.DC.LXI."

The rest of the volume, pp. vii–lxxx and pp. 1–1000, in form

and arrangement, in the devices and in the very type, appears the same as in the Paduan edition by Tozzius in 1621, No. 152. So great in fact is the uniformity as almost to justify the fancy that the letterpress itself had not since been distributed.

Page 1001, an inscription, "Memoriæ Æternum Sciant omnes Andream Alciatum," &c.; then the colophon.

Speaking of this edition Delandine remarks:[95]

"*Laurent Pignorius*, de Padoue, autre commentateur des Emblemes d'Alciat, expliqua la *Table Isiaque*, et a donné des ouvrages sur l'antiquité remplis de profondes recherches." And of *Frederic Morel* he adds: "Autre commentateur du même ouvrage, fut imprimeur du roi et versé dans la connaissance de toutes les langues anciennes."

166. GLI | EMBLEMI | DELL' | ALCIATO.

The first title of Amalteo's Latin-Italian MS.

ANDREAE ALCIATI V. C. | EMBLEMATA. | GLI | EMBLEMI | D' | ANDREA ALCIATO | Traſportati à queſta lingua | da | *AVRELIO AMALTEO* | *ET* | Humiliſſimamente conſacrati | *ALLA* | SAC. CES. MAESTA` | *DI* | LEOPOLDO | IMPERATORE. | About 1670.

The manuscript is without date; but as the emperor Leopold reigned from 1658–1705, and Aurelio Amalteo is said not to have died before 1690, we may assign as a date for the MS. about the year 1670 or 1680.

Colophon: "*IL FINE.*"

Collation copy: From a manuscript in the library at Keir. *Other copy:* None known at the imperial library of Vienna.[96]

4to VOL., 10.82 *in.* × 8.54; *full pages*, 7.48 × 5.11; *devices*, about 2.56 × 3.15.

[95] See *Bib. de Lyon*, vol. ii. p. 180.

[96] Direct application was made to the imperial library of Vienna for information respecting Amalteo's translation, and a very full answer returned, Oct. 10th 1871, to the effect that neither among the manuscripts nor among the printed books of the BIBLIOTHECA AVGVSTA PALATINA was to be found "any trace of a work like that of Amalteo," but only two little poetic pieces of his in manuscript, marked Cod. No. 9924 and 9959.

Register: The first title-leaf unnumbered; 1–145 leaves numbered; total, 146 leaves. The 145 leaves are written over on both sides.

Contents: On leaf ※, first title; leaf 1, second title; leaves 2, 3, "Sacra Ces. Maestà, Sig^re. Sig^re. Clem^mi." "Aurelio Amalteo;" leaf 4, "Lettor discreto;" leaf 4 *v*, "Patris Danielis Fabricii ad Traductorẽ. Epigramma," and "Risposta;" leaf 5, "Leopoldo Avgvstissimo Imperatori Avrelii Amalthei Emblema," "Cæsarea Magnificentia;"[97] (device, *The double eagle on a cornucopia*); leaf 5 *v*, "All' Avgvstissimo Leopoldo Imperatore Emblema di Avrelio Amalteo," "La Cesarea Magnificenza;"[98] leaf 6, "Præfatio ad Chonradvm Pevtingerũ Avgvstanvm," in 10 Latin lines, — "Prefazione," in 20 Italian; leaves 7–145, alternately, in Latin, the motto with the device and stanza, — and in Italian, the motto and the stanza; emblems i–ccxiv.

By re-introducing the offensive emblem 83, numbering 162 as 162 and 163, and 203 as 203 and 204, Amalteo's emblems count up to 214, but there is no real addition to Alciati's emblems.

The devices are 210, emblems 83, 163, 180 and 204 being *nude;* they are very neatly and cleverly etched, and ready for the graver's hand. The older designs are often followed, but nearly all the trees have symbolical representations added to them.

Except in the device to emblem 4 all Greek words are omitted, as in emblems 4, 40, 43, 103, 104, 147 and 205; but a note is generally appended to intimate what the Greek words meant. Probably the scribe was not familiar with the Greek characters.

The family of the Amalthei, or Amaltei, had from early times their homestead at Pordenone[99] in the province of Friuli, in the north-east of Italy, and obtained considerable literary repute.[100] Pavlo Amalteo, 1460–1517, was the

[97] "Lac dedit infanti, et furtim nutruit in Idâ
Nuper Amaltheæ prouida cura Iouem.
Præbet Amaltheiæ sed mos alimenta Camænæ
Munificâ Avstriacvs Ivppiter ecce manu."

[98] "De la Ninfa Amaltea già il zelo intento
Fû á Gioue alimentar ancor Lattante
Ed hor de l'Avstria il prouido Tonãte
A la Musa Amaltea dà l'alimento."

[99] See Tiraboschi's *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, tome vii. pp. 1406–1408.

[100] See Michaud's *Biog. Univers.*, Paris 1811, vol. ii. pp. 9–11; and especially Gian. Gus. Liruti's *Notizie delle vite et opere scritte da Letterati del Friuli*, 1760–1762, tome ii. cap. i. pp. 70–75.

crowned-poet of Maximilian I.; and three brothers, — Girolamo, 1507–1574, Giambatista, 1525–1573, and Cornelio, 1530–1603, — were all famous for their Latin poetry.[1]

Their renown is set forth by Aurelio Amalteo himself in the dedication to the emperor Leopold of his Italian version of Alciati's emblems:

"The devotion of my muse," he declares, "to the most august house of Austria may be said to be hereditary. Paulo Amalteo was made poet-laureat by Maximilian I. of glorious memory. The three brothers, Gioralamo, Gio. Battista and Cornelio Amaltei, rivalled each other in singing the praises of Philip king of Spain, of the most invincible Charles V., and of the most serene Duke John of Austria, Generallissimo of the fleets against the Turks. And my brother, the Cavalier Ascanio, served for some time in Flanders the most serene Leopold of happy memory, uncle of your Majesty, and whose sovereign will I also had the good fortune to obey; therefore, so much the more do I hope that your Cæsarean generosity may deign to look upon this my labour with most clement regard."

Aurelio Amalteo is not mentioned either by Michaud or Tiraboschi, but he was of noble descent, born at Portenone July 10th 1626, and living in 1689, when he wrote the 10th book of his *Rime*.[2] Liruti says:

"He was the friend of the learned men of his time, and especially of the poets; he had a great friendship with Baron Ferdinand Tassis. He has left many poetical compositions in Italian, some of which are published." The titles are here given, but none of them appear connected with emblems. "But much larger is the number of the poems by Aurelio which are in manuscript." Of some of these an account is appended, and afterwards it is added, that "from a sonnet by Giuseppe Prato, which is in the v. part of Amalteo's *Rime*, it may be gathered that this author translated the emblems of Alciati; and in the first volume of his *Rime* he gave a translation into Italian verse of Petrarch's seven penitential Psalms." "In prose he composed little or nothing."

Mazzuchelli[3] assigns the year 1660 as the time when

[1] See *Amaltheorum trium fratrum Carmina*, Venetiis 1627, 8vo, and Amstelodam. 1689, 12mo.

[2] See *Liruti*, tome ii. pp. 70–74. [3] *Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. i. p. 564.

Aurelio Amalteo flourished. In that year was printed at Paris his *Regie Epistole* on the espousals of Louis XIV., and in 1676 at Venice his *Il Milvio.* The historian mentions other works, but names especially a letter from Venice of the 16th August 1721 to the celebrated Apostolo Zeno.[4] The writer, his own brother, tells him:

"That he had seen at a book-stall in Venice, '*un Codice di Rime d'Aurelio Amalteo Accademico Tassista divise in Amorose, Erroiche, Morali, Lugubri, e Sacre,*' and very humbly dedicated to His C. M. Leopold, Emperor,[5] 'Par. 1. *In Vienna d'Austria appresso Matteo Cosmerorro, in* 4.' But the writer subjoins: 'Since the year is not expressed, I do not believe the work to have been printed, but only that it was prepared for printing."

These words express the exact condition of the MS. numbered 166 in our *Catalogue,* which bears neither date nor place, but is dedicated to the emperor Leopold by his "Humilis^{imo}, deuotis^{imo}, et eseq^{imo} seruo," *Very humble, very devoted, and very obedient servant,* "Aurelio Amalteo." Where is that Codex part i. now to be found, to match with "GLI EMBLEMI DELL' ALCIATO"?

167. DECLARACION | MAGISTRAL | SOBRE LAS EMBLEMAS | DE ANDRES ALCIATO. | CON TODAS LAS HISTORIAS, | ANTIGVEDADES, MORALIDAD, Y | DOCTRINA, TOCANTE A LAS | BVENAS COSTVMBRES. | DEDICADAS | A LA MVY NOBLE | INSIGNE LEAL, Y CORONA- | DA CVIDAD DE VALENCIA. | Año (Printer's device, *within an ornamental*

[4] Editor of the *Giornale de Literati,* 1710–1719. His works in 10 vols. 8vo, were printed in 1744.

[5] Note the Italian which Mazzuchelli here quotes: "Umillissimamente consecrate alla S. C. M. di Leopoldo Imperad.," and the words on the title-page of the MS. numbered 166 in our *Catalogue,* — "Humilissimamente consecrati alla Sac. Ces. Maesta di Leopoldo Imperatore."

square, G 4 S) 1670. | Con licencia, en Valencia, por Geronimo Vilagrafa. | *A coſta de Geronimo Sanchez, Mercader de libros.* | *à la plaça de la Seo* | *en fronte de la puerta de los Apoſtoles.*

Collation copy: From the library of Keir. *Other copies:* At Evora and Oporto.

4to Vol., 7.95 *in.* × 5.59; *full pages*, 6.88 × 4.9; *devices*, with border, 3.3 × 3.54.

Register: Initial 8 pages unnumbered; 1–706 numbered; final 16 unnumbered; total, 730 pages.

Contents: On 4 pages, "A los mvy ilvstres Señores Romualdo Sanço Calahama," &c. &c. "Geronimo Sanchez;" on 1 page, "Approbacion," "26 di Março;" on 1 page, "El Avtor a los Lectores." Pp. 1–706, "Emblemas de Alciato." In 12 pages, "Tabla de todas las casas notables," &c.; in 3 pages, "Tabla ad agios que se declaran an esta obra."

The emblems, i–ccxi, have Latin mottoes and stanzas, with devices, but the notes are in Spanish, from the edition by Lopez in 1615, No. 142.

The devices are very rough; the borders rough and simple.

168. ["Emblemata V. C. Andreæ Alciati . . . . . Antv. 8vo. 1677."]

Authority: A letter from the library of the duc *d'Aumale*, Orleans house, April 19th 1869.

169. Declaracion | MAGISTRAL | sobre las Emblemas | de Andres Alciato. | Con todas las historias, | antigvedades, moralidad, y | doctrina, tocante a las | bvenas costvmbres. | Dedicadas | al ilvſtre señor Don Antonio | Folch de Cordoua &c. &c. | Marquès de Caſtelnouo, &c. | Año (Device, on an oval within a square, *Pegasus attached to a tree by a chain*) 1684. |

Con licencia, en Valencia; por Franciſco Miſtre Impreſſor de la | Santa Inquiſicion, junto al Molino de la Rovilla. | *A coſta de Franciſco Duarte Mercader de Libros, &c.*

The writing of the collation is not very legible, and the lines are without *scores* to indicate the size of the letters.

Colophon: "Con licencia: En Valencia," &c., 1684.

Collation copy: In the Royal public library of Oporto. *Other copies:* Evora, Huesca, and Lisbon R. N.

4to VOL., 19.4 *centim.* × 15., or 7.63 Eng. *in.* × 5.9; *full pages*, 15.7 *centim.* × 9.5, or 6.18 *in.* × 3.74 (?); *devices*, 9.6 *centim.* × 8.6, or 3.77 *in.* × 3.38.

Register: Initial 8 pages unnumbered; 1–716 numbered; final 16 unnumbered = 740 pages.

Contents: On 2 pages, title and *verso* blank; on 1 page, arms of the marques of Castelnouo, and dedication, "AL ILVSTRE," &c.; on 3 pages, dedication, beginning with an engraved vignette; on 1 page, "Aprobacion;" and on 1 page, "El Autor a los Lectores." Pp. 1–6, "Præfatio ad Ch. Peutingerum," with a long explication; pp. 7–716, Emblemas cxcvii, and Arbores xiv = ccxi; on 12 pages, "Tabla de todas las casas," &c.; on 3 pages, "Tabla, Adegios," &c.; lastly, "Con licencia," &c.

From Evora it is observed that "the plates in general are very imperfect;" and from Huesca, "there is no engraver's monogram."

170. V. C. | ANDREÆ | ALCIATI | MEDIOLANENSIS | IVRISCONSULTI, | EMBLEMATA, | Cum facili & compendioſa explicatio- | ne, quâ obſcura illuſtrantur, dubia- | que omnia ſolvuntur, | per CLAUDIVM MINOEM | Divionenſem | *Eiuſdem* ALCIATI *Vita* | *Editio nouiſſima, in qua Explicationes Emblema- | tum proprijs locis additæ.* | (The printer's *device;* motto, "FRVCTVS CONCORDIÆ.") ANTVERPIÆ. | Apud HENRICUM & CORNELIUM | VERDUSSEN. | Anno M.DC.XCII.

Collation copy: From the library of Keir. *Other copy:* At Mr. *Bates's*, Birmingham. *Named* in Bernd's *Schriften-kunde*, vol. i. p. 80.

12mo Vol., 5.31 *in.* × 3.34; *full pages*, 4.52 × 2.32; *devices*, about 2.2 *in.* square.

Register: A–S in 12s, T 7 = 223 leaves, or 446 pages; numbered 1–446; also an index &c. unnumbered, 8 pages = 454 pages.

Contents: pp. 1, 2, title and blank; pp. 3–6, "Claud. Minos Christophoro Plantino suo, S.P." "Lutetiæ M.D.LXXXIII.;" pp. 7–11, "De Emblemate;" pp. 12–434, "Andreæ Alciati Emblemata;" pp. 435, 436, "Admonitio;" pp. 437–446, "Vita Andreæ Alciati." On 6 pages, "Emblematum Index;" on 1 page, "Approbatio." "Datum Antuerp. ix. Nouembr M.DCXXI."

The emblems, i–ccxi, have the title or motto, the device, and Latin stanza, with a brief exposition; and the devices are close imitations of those in the Plantinian edition 1622, No. 154.

171. ["Andr. Alciati Emblemata, cum facili et compendiosa explicatione, per Claud. Minoem," (auec 211 jolies grav. sur bois). "Antv. 1698."

Authority: The above title from a catalogue slip enclosed in a letter from M. le *Chan. Bethune*, Professeur en le Grand Séminaire de Bruges.

172. V. C. Andreæ | ALCIATI | mediolanensis | Jvrisconsvlti, | EMBLEMATA. | cvm facili, & compendiosa | explicatione, qua obscura illustran- | tur, dubiaque omnia | solvuntur, | per Clavdivm Minoem | Divionensem | *Eiusdem* Alciati *Vita.* | Editio novissima, in qva explicationes | *Emblematum proprijs locis additæ.* | (Printer's *device.*) Antverpiæ. | Apud Henricvm & Cornelivm | Verdussen. Anno M.DCC.XV.

Colophon: "Antverpiæ, | oficina | Apvd Henricvm, & | Cornelium Verdussen. Anno M.DCC.XV."

Collation copy: In the Royal public library, Oporto. *Other copy* not known of.

8vo Vol., 14.1 *centim.* × 10., or 5.55 Eng. *in.* × 3.93; *full pages*, 11.1 *centim.* × 6.9, or 4.37 *in.* × 2.71; *devices*, 5.6 *centim.* × 5.6, or 2.2 *in.* square.

Register: ¶ 8, A–Dd in 8s = 224 leaves or 448 pages; initial 16 pages unnumbered; pp. 1–423 numbered; final 9 unnumbered = 448 pages.

Contents: Except by omitting the "Approbatio," this contains exactly the same with edition 1692, No. 170.

173. Carmina | illvstrivm | poetarvm italorvm.

Such is the *first* title.

Carmina | illvstrivm | poetarvm | italorvm. | tomvs primvs. | (*Device or ornament.*) Florentiæ, m.dcc.xix. | Typis Regiae Celsitudinis, apud Joannem Caietanum | Tartinium, et Sanctum Frachium. | cvm approbatione.

The *second* title; and on page 53 of vol. i.:

Andreæ Alciati | Mediolanensis | Emblemata.

Colophon: "Finis."

Collation copy: In the library of the Royal university, Turin. *Other copy:* Not named.

8vo Vol., 18. *centim.* × 10.2. or 7.08 Eng. *in.* 4. × 01; *full pages*, 13.1 *centim.* × 8., or 5.15 *in.* × 3.14; *devices*, none.

Register: +. A–Ii in 8s, Kk in 6 = 270 leaves or 540 pages; numbered 1–16 and 1–521 = 527; unnumbered 1; blank 2 = 540.

Contents: p. 5, "Ad Lectorem Præfatio; p. 15, "Catalogvs Italorvm Poetarvm, Tomi Primi;" p. 1, "Carmina Illvstrivm," &c.; p. 53, "Andreæ Alciati Med. Emblemata," "Ad Maximilianum Ducem Mediolan. super insigni," (*sic*) &c.

174. ["Emblemata V. C. Andreæ Alciati . . . . . Editio nova . . . . . Matriti. 8vo. 1739."]

Authority: In the Madrid edition 1749, in the address "Typographus Lectori," there occurs at the beginning this passage:

"Hoc eruditum opus V. Cl. Andreae Alciati ab imperitis nostræ ætatis typographis quoties recursum (*sic*) toties depravatum prodiit,

præcipuè in ultima editione anni 1739, ubi quamvis in Præfatione Hispana, quæ ibi à typographo ejusdem editionis præfigitur, asseratur excusum fuisse ex attenta recognitione antiqui cujusdam exemplaris."

From this passage it is evident that there was a Madrid edition of Alciati's emblems in the year 1739, and *probably other editions* respecting which no information has been obtained.

175. EMBLEMATA | V. C. | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | MEDIOLANENSIS | IURISCONSULTI. | CUM FACILI & COMPENDIOSA | explicatione, quâ obſcura illuſtrantur, du- | biaque omnia ſolvuntur, per Claudium | Minoem Divionenſem. | *Ejuſdem* ALCIATI *Vita.* | EDITIO NOVISSIMA A MENDIS | expurgata, priorique integritati reſtituta. | (*A vignette.*) MATRITI: | EX TYPOGRAPHIA ORD. DE MERCEDE, | ANNO M.DCC.XLIX. | CUM FACULTATIBUS NECESSARIIS.

Collation copy: In the National library of Madrid. *Other copy:* In the Escurial library.

8vo VOL., 15.8 *centim.* × 10.6, or 6.22 Eng. *in.* × 4.17; *full pages*, 12.6 *centim.* × 6.7, or 4.96 *in.* × 2.63; *devices*, about 5.6 *centim.* × 5.7, or 2.2 *in.* × 2.24.

Register: ¶ 8, A–Bb in 8s, Cc 4 = 212 leaves or 424 pages; numbered 1–405; unnumbered 19 = 424.

Contents: ¶ 3, "Typographus Lectori;" ¶ 4, "Suma de la Licencia;" ¶ *v*, "Errata sic corrige, Madrid y Iunio 19 de 1749;" on 3 pages, "De Emblemate. Quid sit emblema;" on 1 page, "Præfatio ad Chonradum Peutingerum." Pp. 1–370, Emblemata, i–cxcvii; pp. 371–388, Arbores, xiv; pp. 389–398, "Vita Andreæ Alciati Mediolanensis Iurisc. Claris. Per Claud. Minoem conscripta;" pp. 399–405, "Emblematum Index in locos communes ad Studiosorum commoditatem digestorum;" p. 405 *v*, "Admonitio," "Aprobatio," "Antuerp. 9 Novembris 1621. Laurentius Begerlinck, Archipresb. & Can. Antuerp. & librorum Censor."

With each of the emblems there is a vignette. The vignettes are of different sizes.

176. EMBLEMATA | v. c. | ANDREÆ ALCIATI | Mediolanensis | Jurisconsulti, | Cum facili et compendiosa | explicatione, quâ obſcura illuſtrantur, | dubiaque omnia ſolvuntur, per Clau- | dium Minoem Divionenſem. | *Ejuſdem* Alciati *Vita.* | Editio Novissima a mendis | expurgata, priorique integritati | reſtituta. | *Superiorum permiſſu.* | *Matriti:* Ex Typographia Pantaleonis | Aznar. Anno m.dcc.lxxxi. | *Sumptibus Regiæ Societatis.*

Collation copy: In the library of the British Museum. *Other copies:* Saragossa U., and don *Alvarez*, Manchester.

8vo Vol., 6.1 *in.* × 4.08; *full pages*, 4.84 × 2.75; *devices*, 1.85 × 2.12.

Register: ⁂ 6, A–Bb in 8s, Cc 4 = 210 leaves, or 420 pages; initial 12 pages unnumbered; 1–405 numbered; 2 unnumbered, and 1 blank = 420.

Contents: On ⁂ 3, "Menda;" ⁂ 4–9, "De Emblemate;" ⁂ 10, 11, "Præfatio ad Ch. Peutingerum." Pp. 1–388, "Andreæ Alciati Emblemata," i–ccxi; pp. 389–398, "Vita Andreæ Alciati;" pp. 399–405, "Emblematum Index;" then 1 page "Admonitio;" 1 page "Aprobatio." "Datum Antuerpiæ 9 Novembris 1621."

Mottoes, text and short explication in Latin accompany the 211 emblems; the devices bear no artist's monogram, and are very plain and simple.

177. Andreae Alciati | Emblematum Fontes Quatuor. | Namely, | *an account of* | the original collection made at Milan, 1522, | and | photo-lith fac-similes of the editions | *Augſburg* 1531, *Paris* 1534, *and Venice* 1546. | Edited by henry green, m.a. | *With* **A Sketch of Alciati's Life,** | and | Bibliographical Obſerva-

tions reſpecting the Early Editions. | **Published for the Holbein-Society by** | A. BROTHERS, *St. Ann's Square, Mancheſter, And* | TRÜBNER & CO., *Paternoſter Row. London.* | M.DCCC.LXX.

The title is surrounded by an ornamented border.

Collation copy: From the Holbein-Society, Manchester. *Other copies:* About 500.

Sm. 4to VOL., 8.85 *in.* × 6.81; *full pages*, about 5.78 × 3.54; *devices*, as in the original editions of 1531, 1534 and 1546.

Register: Of necessity the *signatures* are irregular. The whole work is contained in 196 leaves or 392 pages, some parts being numbered, and others only signatured.

Contents: On pages i–viii, title, preface and table of contents. On pp. 1–5, Sketch of Alciati's life; pp. 6–8, Four Fountains of his emblems; pp. 8–14, Fountain I., collection *Milan* 1522; pp. 14–18, Fountain II., edition *Augsburg* 1531; pp. 18–25, Fountain III., edition *Paris* 1534; pp. 25–27, Fountain IV., edition *Venice* 1546; pp. 27–30, the emblems in their *full stream;* pp. 31–38, mottoes and titles to all the emblems. PHOTO-LITH REPRINTS. II. On 96 pages, the *Augsburg* edition, 28th February 1531, &c. III. On 144 pages, the *Paris* edition 1534, &c. IV. On 100 pages, the *Venice* edition 1546, &c. On 3 pages, general index; and on 1 page, Holbein-Society's photo-lith reprints for the year 1871.

[177 a.] *GRIMALDI'S* | Funeral Oration, | *January* 19. 1550, | for | ANDREA ALCIATI: | *In Photo-lith Fac-ſimile*, | with | A TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH. | *Edited by* HENRY GREEN, *M.A.* | **Published for the Holbein-Society by** | A. BROTHERS, *St. Ann's Square, Mancheſter; and* | TRÜBNER & CO., *Paternoſter Row, London.* | M.DCCC.LXXI.

The title is within a fine border, taken from pp. 225 and 226 of Bonhomme's Lyons edition 1551. For Grimaldi's own titles see *Catalogue*, No. 43 a.

Collation copy: From the Holbein-Society, Manchester. *Other copies:* About 500.

Sm. 4to VOL., 8.85 *in.* × 6.85; *full pages*, about 6.6 × 4.099.

Register: Initial 10 leaves or 20 pages numbered i–viii and

1–12; then A–*B* and B in 4s=12 leaves or 24 pages, unnumbered; total, 44 pages.

Contents: On pages i–iv, council, blank, title and portrait; pp. v–viii, preface. On pages 1–11, translation of Grimaldi's Funeral Oration; p. 12, imprint, "*Wyman and Son, London.*" On sig. A, "Oratio Funebris," &c., title; A *v*, dedication, "Ornatissimo Viro Nicolao Grimaldo, Fratri," &c.; Aij–Biij, "Oratio Funebris;" Biij *v*–iv, "Elegia;" Biiij *v*, blank; B 1–4, "Carmina." See edition 1550, No. 43 a.

There were also issued *twenty copies* with Alciati's arms on the cover, for private distribution only; *twelve* on large pager, 10.03 *in.* × 7.48, and *eight* on small paper, 8.85 *in.* × 6.85. These copies have an ornamental presentation page, and a "PREMONITION" instead of a "Preface."

178. Andreae Alciati | Emblematum Flumen abundans; | or, | ALCIAT'S EMBLEMS | IN THEIR FULL STREAM, | being | A PHOTO-LITH FAC-SIMILE REPRINT | of | *The Lyons Edition by Bonhomme* 1551; | *And of Titles &c. of Similar Editions,* 1548–1551. | Edited by HENRY GREEN, M.A., | with | An Introduction and an Alphabetical List of all the | Latin Mottoes. | **Published for the Holbein-Society by** | A. BROTHERS, *St. Ann's Square, Manchester; and* TRÜBNER & CO., *Paternoster Row, London.* | M.DCCC.LXXI.

The title is surrounded by an ornamental border.

Colophon or imprint at the end: "*Wyman and Son, Printers, Great Queen Street, London, W. C.*"

Collation copy: From the Holbein-Society, Manchester. *Other copies:* About 500.

Sm. 4to VOL., 8.85 *in.* × 6.81; *full pages,* about 6.3 × 3.85; *devices,* as in the original editions 1549–1551.

Register: The whole work contains 146 leaves or 292 pages; numbered i–viii, 1–22; unnumbered 2; numbered 1–226; unnumbered 34=292.

Contents: On pages i–viii, portrait, general title, preface and table of contents; pp. 1–8, "The emblems in FULL STREAM;" pp. 8–11, editions between 1548 and 1551 inclusive; pp. 11, 12, subsidiary editions; pp. 13, 14, of the portrait and hand-writing; pp. 15–22, mottoes and titles of the emblems, PHOTO-LITH FAC-SIMILE REPRINTS, the full stream; pp. 1–226, "Emblemata, *Bonhomme*, Lugduni 1551;" and on 5 pages, "Index Emblematvm in locos commvnes." On 21 pages, illustrative fac-similes; on 1 page, fac-simile of Alciati's writing; and on 1 page, medallions of Alciati and of Peutinger; then on 3 pages, general index; and on 1 page, Holbein-Society's reprints for 1871.

179. ["THE EMBLEMS OF ANDREA ALCIATI, | IN ENGLISH VERSE; | With a Memoir and Short Notes. | By the REV. G. S. CAUTLEY, M.A."] (1872.)

Authority: Though not yet issued, this edition is inserted on information communicated by the author that the translation is made, and the announcement by the Holbein-Society of Manchester that the work will appear among their publications.

In other instances (see pp. 59–63 and p. 252) translations have been offered from Alciati's Latin text of emblem vii. (see p. 59): they are in *French* by Le Fevre, Aneau and Mignault; in *German* by Wolphgang Hunger and Held von Nordingen; in *Spanish* by Daza; in *Italian* by Marquale, Cadamosto, Capaccio and Amalteo; and in *English* by Whitney, and an unknown author A.D. 1600. With the permission of the translator is here subjoined the version into English, A.D. 1872, of the same seventh emblem:

"NOT FOR THEE, BUT FOR RELIGION.

"A plodding Ass the shrine of Isis bore;
The awful mysteries on his back are seen:
And all he meets with pious prayers adore
Low on their knees before the Goddess-Queen.
The beast vain-glorious to himself applied
The homage all: until with sounding thwack,
'Oh miserable ass!' the driver cried,
'No god art thou, — the god is on thy back.'"

G. S. CAUTLEY.

N.B. In the foregoing *Catalogue* TEN other works appear that have been collated, or for which authority has been produced, namely: Nos. 43 a, 61 a, 73 a, 98 a, 104 a, 122 a, 134 a, 137 a, 158 a, and 177 a; but although *four* of them, Nos. 73 a, 98 a, 104 a, 134 a, claim to be editions of the Alciati emblem-books, satisfactory reasons have been assigned for not actually enumerating them. Were the latter *four* admitted into the List, the editions would number 183; and if the whole were admissible there would have to be counted 189 editions. The safer plan is to say 179, of which number two or three are doubtful; but 176 cannot be questioned.

TABLES OF ALCIATI'S EMBLEM BOOKS.

TABLE I. — *Copies COLLATED for the Bibliographical Catalogue IN THE LIBRARIES NAMED.* (*a*)

Augsburg, No. 44.
Aumale, S. R. A. le duc d', 24, 80.
Bâle, City of, 56, 76, 143.
Bates, esq., W., Birmingham, 156.
Berlin, Imperial, 73.
Bethune, M. le Ch. Felix, Bruges, 93.
Bodleian, Oxford, 39, 67, 87, 97, 123, 159.
Bologna, Communal, 91.
British Museum, 41, 58, 64, 148, 155, 176.
Cambridge, University, 35, 52, 122 a, 128.
Cautley, rev. G. S., 44, 69, 89, 104.
Corser, M.A., rev. Thos., Stand, 2, 9, 19, 29, 108, 141, 160.
Chetham, Manchester, 102.
Cracow, University, 132.
Douai, City of, 53, 131.
Dresden, Royal, 42, 51.
Florence, National, 91.
Glasgow, University, 135, 147.
Green, M.A., Henry, Knutsford, *19, 48, 93, 111, 117, 118, 129,
Hague, Royal, 163.
Holbein-Society, Manchester, 177, 178, 179.
Keir, Scotland (sir Wm. *Stirling-Maxwell's*, bart.), 3, 6. 8, 18, 25, 27, 30, 32, 36, 38, 43 a, 47, 66, 72, 74, 77, 85, 95, 96, 103, 112, 114, 117, 119, 122 a, 130, 136, 137 a, 142, 151, 152, 154, 158 a, 165, 166, 167, 170.
Leemans, Dr. Conrad, Leyden, 133.
Lisbon, National, 120, 164.

(*a*) Copies inserted in the tables but not in the text are distinguished by an asterisk (*), as *151, Mr. *Cautley*; *93, Keir; *2, Vienna. The returns in such cases were generally too late for insertion in the proper place.

Madrid, National, 45, 175,
Mans, le, France, 86.
Modena, Public, 26, 37, 125.
Munich, Public, 54, 75.
Naples, National, 35, 89.
Nijenhuis, M. J. T., Leyden, 40.
Oporto, Royal public, 127, 169, 172.
Ormerod, esq., J. M., Manchester, 60.
Rimini, 82.
Thingwall, Liverpool (H. *Yates Thompson*, esq.), 7, 10, 15, 17, 20, 23, 28, 31, 36, 47, 50, 59, 68, 70, 71, 78, 84, 85, 90, 99, 129, 137, 139, 149, 165.
Turin, Royal university, 144, 173.
Venice, S. Mark's, 89.
Versailles, 63, 113,
Wolfenbüttel, Ducal, 33, 170.

TABLE II. — *AUTHORITY quoted respecting Editions NOT COLLATED.*

Aarau, Cantonal library, 98 a.
Ames, *Art of Eng. Printing*, 52.
Amiens, library, 140.
Annales Plantiniennes, 92, 94, 105.
Antonio's *Bib. Hisp. nova*, 16.
Aumale, duc d', 168.
Bâle, City of, 138.
Bernd's *Schriften-kunde*, &c., 4, 5, 11, 34, 79, 104 a, 105, 109, 113, 121, 122, 124, 126, 134 a. 153, 157, 158, 161.
Besançon, library, 83, 105.
Bethune, M. le Ch. Felix, 171.
Bibliotheca Blandford., 16, 21, 55, 162.
Bibl. Bunaviana, 134.
Bibl. Casanab. Catal., 49.
Bodleian library, 43, 104 a.
Bremen, library, 134.
Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, 1, 12, 14, 43, 65, 81, 94, 101, 106, 145.
Cat. du Roy, Paris 1750, 46, 61 a, 81.
Cat. de la Bib. de Grenoble, 113.
Cat. Reg. Bibl. Borbon, 49, 140.
Cautley, rev. G. S. of Nettleden, 179.
Cicognara's *Catalogo ragionato*, 14.
Clement's *Bibl. curieuse*, &c., 1.
Douai, library, 110.
Escurial, library, 113.
Freytag's *Adpar. Litter.*, 1.
Goujet's *Bibl. Françoise*, 1, 2.
Graesse's *Trésor*, 12, 14, 16, 81, 88, 101, 110.
Holkham, library (lord *Leicester's*), 134.
Huesca, University library, 98, 126.
Lisbon, National, 138.
Madrid edition of the emblems, 1749, 174.
Mazarine library, Paris, 81, 104 a, 116.
Mazzuchelli's *Scrittori d'Italia*, 16, 22, 46, 57, 61, 92, 100, 104 a, 105, 116, 150.
Modena, Palatine library, 134.
Morel, M. T. G., Einsiedeln, 83.
Munich, University library, 94, 138.
Niceron's *Memoires*, 1, 105.
Panzer's *Annales Typog.*, 1.
Quadrio's *Storia*, &c., 146.
Soleure, library, 106.
South Kensington *Catalogue*, 13.
Strasburg, library, 134.
Ticknor's *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, 21.
Versailles, library, 116.
Vienna, Imperial library, 145.
Weigel's *Catalog*, 1857, 16, 73 a.

TABLE III. — *COPIES OF ALCIATI'S EMBLEMS known of in various Libraries.*

Aarau, Cantonal library, 35, 73, 93.
Aberdeen, University library, 93, 136.
Althorpe (earl *Spencer's*), 28, 50.
Alvarez, don, Manchester, 176.
Amiens, Communal, 99, 104, 130, 140.
Augsburg, 2, 44, 70, 93, 99.
Aumale, le duc d', 18, 19, 24, 80, 93, 141.
Avignon, Museum, 102, 130, 152.
Bâle, Public, 2, 7, 56, 76, 82, 102, 108, 130, 138, 143, 147, 152.
Bates, esq., W., Birmingham, 86, 152, 156, 170.
Berlin, Imperial, 8, 17, 20, 23, 28, 31, 38, 39, 70, 73, 74, 75, 77, 99, 123, 133, 141, 152, 164.
Berne, City, 6, 36, 39, 60.
Besançon, City, 25, 38, 66, 73, 87, 96, 128.
Bethune, M. le Ch., Bruges, 64, 87, 93, 131, 133, 141.
Bodleian, Oxford, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 18, 19, 20, 28, 29, 35, 36, 38, 39, 67, 85, 87, 97, 102, 123, 129, 139, 152, 155, 159, 160, *177, *178.
Bologna, Archiepiscopal, 47, 50, 74, 91, 152, 154, 155.
Bremen, City, 118, 123, 165.
British Museum, 3, 7, 10, 20, 25, 28, 29, 36, 38, 41, 47, 50, 58, 60, 64, 77, 90, 103, 108, 118, 133, 137, 142, 147, 148, 152, 154, 155, 158a, 176, *177, *178.
Bruges, Grand Seminary, 93, 115, 118.
Cambridge, University, 35, 62, 82, 99, 118, 122 a, 128, 130, 141, 147, 152, 165, *177, *178.
Cambridge, S. John's, 104, 118.
Catana, University, 62, 71, 141, 152, 165.
Cautley, rev. G. S., 2, 8, 17, 23, 36, 42, 44, 69, 89, 104, *151, 152, 179.
Chaumont (à haute Marne), 114.
Chetham, Manchester, 102.
Copenhagen, Royal, 2, 3, 20, 35, 74, 77, 99, 102, 104, 130, 133, 147, 152, 155, 165.
Corser, rev. T., 2, 9, 19, 23, 29, 50, 93, 108, 141, 158 a, 160.
Cracow, University, 99, 132.
Crossley, esq., J., Manchester, 2.
Darmstadt, Ducal, 19, 62, 67, 77, 102, 119, 150.
Douai, City, 7, 10, 53, 107, 119, 130, 131, 141.
Dresden, Royal, 8, 42, 51, 62, 67, 77, 80, 102, 133, 147, 154, 165.
Edinburgh, 2, 35, 77, 119, 147.
Einsiedeln, Monastery, Switzerland, 33, 77, 87, 160.
Escurial, near Madrid, 8, 17, 33, 38, 102, 117, 118, 142, 175.
Evora, Cathedral, 25, 99, 167, 169.
Ferrara, of Art and Antiquities, 44, 62, 102, 152.
Florence, National, 23, 29, 50, 62, 91, 118, 141, 148, 152, 155, 165.
Friburg, Switzerland, 118.
Gall, S., Switzerland, 84, 87, 107.
Geneva, Public, 86, 147.
Ghent, University, 118, 123, 141, 148, 154.
Glasgow, University, 135, 147.
Green, Mr., Knutsford, *19, 48, 93, 111, 117, 129, 133.

Gotha, Ducal, 36, 44, 75, 93, 103, 147.
Grenoble, France, 44.
Grimaldi, rev. A. B., Sussex, 43a.
Hague (The), Royal, 7, 10, 77, 99, 103, 118, 133, 139, 152, 163.
Holbein-Society, Manchester, 177, 178, 179.
Holkham (earl of *Leicester's*), 44, 130, 133.
Huesca, Spain, University, 127, 169.
Huth, esq., Henry, London, 6, 10, 20, 28, 158a.
Keir (sir W. *Stirling-Maxwell's*), 3, 6, 8, 10, 15, 17, 18, 20, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 36, 38, 43a, 47, 50, 51, 66, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 85, *93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 103, 108, 111, 112, 114, 117, 118, 119, 122a, 127, 130, 133, 136, 137a, 139, 141, 142, 149, 151, 152, 154, 155, 158a, 160, 165, 166, 167, 170.
Kensington, South, London, 87, 96, 111, 123, 141, 165.
Kiel, in Holstein, 99, 102, 165.
Königsberg, 6, 20, 35, 72, 165.
Lausanne, Cantonal, 128.
Leemans, Dr. Conrad, Leyden, 19, 133, 152.
Leeuwarden, Friesland, Provincial, 62.
Leigh, col. Egerton, Cheshire, 111.
Leon, Old Castile, 85.
Leyden, University, *71, 118, 119, 152.
Liége, Belgium, 102, 133, 148.
Lincoln's Inn, London, 93, 147.
Lisbon, National, 37, 120, 133, 138, 141, 164, 169.
Louvain, University, 35.
Lucca, Italy, 18, 75, 160.
Madrid, National, 36, 45, 85, 93, 99, 127, 131, 141, 142, 147, 148, 152, 154, 175.
Mans, Le, France, 86, 104, 114, 128.
Mazarine, Paris, 17, 47, 66, 107, 131, 152.
Messina, Sicily, 152.
Milan, Ambrosian, 23, 28, 43a, 47, 48, 50, 85, 99, 102, 149, 152, 155.
Modena, Palatine, 26, 35, 36, 37, 47, 50, 75, 104, 125, 133, 152.
Munich, Public, 2, 3, 6, 8, 17, 18, 19, 29, 31, 39, 41, 47, 54, 66, 70, 74, 75, 77, 84, 93, 96, 99, 104, 108, 118, 119, 123, 127, 131, 133, 138, 152, 165.
Munich, University, 2, 8, 18, 33, 47, 54, 75, 77, 96, 99, 104, 119, 133, 138, 152.
Napier, esq., G. W., Manchester, 111.
Naples, National, 35, 85, 89, 128, 141, 152, 165.
Nijenhuis, M. J. T., Leyden, 40,
Nîmes, France, 36, 39, 131, 141.
Nuremberg, 35.
Oporto, Royal public, 99, 127, 132, 133, 141, 142, 165, 167, 169, 172.
Ormerod, esq., J. M., Manchester, 60.
Paris, (*b*) National, 31, 42.
Pavia, *75, *152, *178.
Perugia, Italy, 42, 102.
Pisa, University, 82, 130, 152.
Rennes, City, 64, 115.
Rimini, 44, 82, 152.

(*b*) Owing to the siege of Paris the efforts to obtain information from the libraries of that city have almost entirely failed of success. And so with respect to France generally.

Rochelle, La, 130.
Salamanca, University, 127, 147.
Salisbury, esq., E. G., Chester, 111.
Salzburg, S. Peter's monastery, 17, 18, 147, 165.
Saragossa, University, 75, 85, 127, 154, 176.
Schaffhausen, 36, 102.
Siena, Italy, 73, 93, 152.
Soleure, Cantonal, 3.
Stockholm, Royal, 136, 147,
Strasburg, 7, 50, 62, 85, 87.
Stuttgart, Royal, 18, 20, 41, 47. 77, 93, 99, 133, 165.
Swinnerton, esq., Jas., Macclesfield, 111.
Thingwall, *Thompson*, esq., H. *Yates*, 7, 10, 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 28, 31, 36, 47, 50, 59, 68, 70, 71, 78, 84, 85, 90, 99, 108, 111, 118, 129, 133, 137, 137 a, 139, 141, 149, 152, 158 a, 165.
Toulouse, 18, 50, 102, 102a, 130.
Turin, Royal university, 102, 144, 152, 173.
Ulm, Germany, 150, 152.
Upsala, Sweden, *3.
Venice, S. Mark's, 28, 89, 129, 149, 152, 155, 165.
Verona, City, 23, 48, 70, 71, 78, 99, 102, 123, 152, 155.
Versailles, 56, 63, 104, 112, 115.
Vienna, Imperial, *2, *3, *10, *15, *19, *31, *35, *37, 39, 44, 54, 77, 102, 123, 165.
Whitney, esq., H. Austin, Boston, Mass., 111.
Wiesbaden, Nassau, 156.
Winterthun, City, 104.
Wolfenbüttel, Ducal, 33, 39, 50, 107, 108, 118.
Zurich, City, 118.

TABLE IV. — *EDITIONS of ALCIATI'S Emblem-books, with the PLACE and the PRINTER.*

Amsterdam, 158.
Antwerp, Plantin, 72, 73, 78, 84, 87, 93, 94, 99, 101, 105, 108, 134, 154, 160.
—— *Printer unnamed*, 92, 109, 121, 157, 162, 168, 171, 172.
—— Verdussen, 170.
Augsburg, Steyner, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.
Bâle, Isingrinn, 35, 62.
—— Guarin, 82, 102.
Ciudad de Najera, Mongaston, 142.
Cologne, Tornæsius, 138, 143.
Florence, Constanus, 173.
Frankfort-on-Mayne, Raben, 74,
—— Corvinus, 77.
—— Basse, 96, 103.
—— Zetner, 147.
—— *Printer unnamed*, 122.
Geneva, Tornæsius, 139, 156, 159.
—— *Printer unnamed*, 161
Leyden, Plantin and Rapheleng, 111, 117, 118, 119, 123, 133, 136.
—— *Printer unnamed*, 121, 153,
Lutetia, *i.e. Paris*, Beguin, 58.
—— De Marnef, 65, 66.
—— *Printer unnamed*, 98.
Lyons, *Printer unnamed*, 16, 21, 46, 52, 57, 113, 126.
—— Modernus, 24, 25, 26, 27.
—— Tornæsius et Gazeius, 29, 40, 54, 59, 60, 67.
—— Gryphius, 30.
—— Rovillius, 31, 36, 39, 41, 44, 47, 49, 50, 53, 63, 69, 70, 71, 75, 76, 83, 85, 88, 89, 91, 95, 97, 121, 140.

Lyons, Bonhomme, 32, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 48, 51.
—— De Tourne, 33, 56, 80.
—— Fradin, 64.
—— Tornæsius, 120.
—— Hæred. Rovillii, 141, 144.
Manchester, Holbein-Society, 177, 178, 179.
Manuscript, 137, 166.
Matriti, *i.e.* Madrid, Aznar, 176.
—— *Printer unnamed*, 174, 175.
Milan, 1.
Monachi, Coppen, 163.
Padua, *Printer unnamed*, 146.
Paris, Wechel, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23.
—— *Printer unnamed*, 13, 15, 22, 55, 61, 79, 100, 106.
—— Ruelle, 68.
Paris, Dion a Prato, 81.
—— Marnef et Cauellat, 86, 90, 104.
—— Richer, 107, 110, 112, 116, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 148.
—— Valleti, 114, (129), (131), (132).
—— Gueffier, 115, (130), (148).
Patavia, Tozzius, 149, 150, 152, 155.
—— Frambotti, 165.
Strasburg, *Printer unnamed*, 145.
Valencia, Vilagrassa, 164, (167).
—— Sanchez, 167.
—— Mistre, 169.
Venice, Aldi-filii, 28.
—— Sadeler, 125.
—— Barezzi, 151.
Without place, Rosa, 135.

With a deep sense of obligation I here acknowledge the great courtesy of the chief Librarians in the cities of the continent of Europe and of the United Kingdom: and most heartily do I thank them for the very effective help which they have rendered me in preparing the foregoing Bibliographical Study.

HENRY GREEN.

KNUTSFORD,
January 2nd, 1872.

APPENDIX.

UESTIONABLE it is, whether a work, like *The Life of Andrea Alciati*, written out from a full collection of materials, should be enlarged, because, during the process of printing additional information, leaving untouched the main features of the narrative, has been obtained. There is danger, lest what is added should mar the unity of the whole, or render diffuse that which had been compressed.

However, after the *Life of Andrea Alciati* had been printed off, and the *Bibliographical Catalogue* itself almost completed, several very interesting documents, either directly or indirectly relating to the subject, were communicated to me by signor Vittorio Piccaroli, chief librarian of the university of Pavia, where for some time Alciati had lectured, and where finally he died. To the signor Piccaroli himself, and to the very considerable labour and research which he has bestowed, it is due that within this volume some record of those documents should be preserved, even if no more than a portion of them be reproduced. They may at least be employed as *Pièces justificatives* of several things which our work contains, and in some cases will supply fresh information.

I. List of Documents *from Signor Piccaroli of Pavia,* received at the end of October 1871:

1° A fine engraving in folio of the magnificent monument raised by Francisco Alciati to the memory of his uncle Andrea, in the church of S. Epifanio in Pavia, where he was buried.* The engraving is from an imperfect copy of the work, *Antichità pavesi,* by Gius. Voghera, Pavia 1830.

The monument is entirely of marble from Ornavasso, on Lago Maggiore, the same as that which has served and still serves for the statues of the cathedral of Milan. The sculptor's name has not been ascertained. The inscription to Alciati's memory and praise is in the centre of the work, which on the right hand has two entablatures or *bassi relievi,* and also two on the left. On the right hand the upper entablature is said to be emblematical of the law,† and the lower, the symbol of Alciati which he had in his chamber at Pavia, Mercury's wand and cap with cornucopias, and a Greek motto, "*The fruit of the righteous man perishes not.*" On the left hand the entablatures are,—*above,* an emblem of poesy, and *below,* the Alce, the crest of the family, and also a Greek motto, "*Never procrastinate.*" The four entablatures and the central inscription are surmounted by a full-length statue, which, there is reason for believing, resembles the personal appearance of the living man.

The church of S. Epifanio arose near the eastern wall of the city of Pavia, and was demolished with the adjoining convent of Lateran monks in 1790; and as early as 1773, in anticipation of this deed, Alciati's monument was removed to the buildings of the university, where it is to be found at the present day. (*Piccaroli.*)

2° A written copy of the rare work, Pietro Varondel's *Oration on the death of Alciati.*‡

"Prima oratio in funere Magni Alciati, habita a Petro Va-
"rondello Burgundo discipulo."

* A copy (reduced in size) of this engraving is to be found at the beginning of our volume. For the inscription as recorded by Argelati see the *Life,* p. 25.

† For some of these particulars see signor A. Zoncada's *Andrea Alciati e le Università d'Italia de' suoi tempi,* 17 Juglio 1861; named at *Appendix* I. 4°.

‡ For an account of other orations on the death of Alciati see *Life,* pp. 25–27. Of these Grimaldi's is the chief, reprinted in fac-simile by the Holbein-Society of Manchester; see *Catalogue* [43 a], p. 166. Also in this *Appendix* I. 5° is a long extract from Bouk's *Oratio de Vita Alciati,* Rostock 1560.

"Fecissent Dii Immortales, Tuque Magne Alciate, ut quam toties "ornandis studiis nostris, virtutique ipsi impendisti eloquentiam, "eius nunc partem, publico in luctu, omniumque moerore, Scintil- "lamve aliquam retineremus. Cumque insignis eruditionis tuae "uberrimos atque amplissimos fructus omnibus palam exhibueris, "divinae ipsius eloquentiae vim ac veluti auram quandam alicui "tandem inspirasses, non dubitarem profecto hoc tempore, quin "hoc spiritu quasi numine instinctus aliquis, et provinciam istam "egregie, ornate obire et vobis omnibus tanto in argumento satis- "facere posset. Verum cum vel te nobiscum squalida ipsa, moe- "rensque lugeat, vel potius una tecum extincta sit regina rerum "eloquentia, quis iam vel eam ab inferis excitare, vel sine ea "laudes tuas, opus densum sane atque arduum aggredi ausit; Ego "tamen Commilitones piètatis in praeceptorem, et in hanc Uni- "versitatem officiis potioremque pudoris imbecillitatisque meae "rationem duxi, Cumque omnes silendum sibi tam gravi in Causa "et parum dicendum existimarent, nemoque extaret qui instar has "ultimasque gratias Praeceptori referret, sum Ego Codri exem- "plum secutus, qui Magni Pompeij reliquias, tenui furtivoque "potius, quam nullo omnino Sepulchri honore Condendas existi- "mavit. Et certe apud Exteras Nationes, omniumque Gentium "Academias, quo tanti Funeris fama penetratura est, non tam "quam eleganter quamque pro amplissimi Viri dignitate, sed an "omnino habita sit ulla Funebris oratio quaeretur: Alterum. n. "dicentis imbecillitati atque infantiae, alterum Praeceptoris honori "atque magnitudini tribuetur, qui ut erat Antiquitatis studiosissi- "mus, Antiquorum gloriam ingenij abundantia exaequarat, ita "intermissum morem hunc vetustissimum, institutumque Maiorum "a nobis quasi suo iure repetere videbatur. Occidit enim Com- "mil. Dux noster parensque studiorum Andreas Alciatus Vir sane "magnus atque memorabilis, et in cuius laudibus ipsomet de quo "dicimus, laudatore opus fuerit. Sed ex multis atque infinitis, "quae in illo praeclarissima extiterunt, nos interea dum ultimis istis "sacris verbique novissimis religiose faventes adestis, quaedam per- "curremus, quibus Viri Sanctissimi. Jurisque Antistitis famam atque "memoriam familiarius iam atque ardentius pectoribus nostris "atque adeo immortalitati consecremus. Mediolani natus est "Idibus Maij urbe celebri et copiosa, Gallorum quondam colonia, "nunc Imperij iure amplissima atque augustissima, Maiores habuit "in Ea nobiles Familiamque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimis- "que studijs affluentem, a quibus ingenue educatus,* ut primum ex "pueris excessit, estque his artibus quibus haec aetas ad humanita- "tem informari solet, abunde instructus, se statim ad scribendi stu-

* See *Life*, pp. 4, 5.

"dium contulit in quo celeriter ingenij gloria omnibus antecellere,
"Elegias, Comoedias, Epigrammata,* iam felicissime componere,
"et Poetices numeros omnes ante 16. annum naturæ bonitate im-
"plere, Oratorijs exercitationibus iam tum quoque desudavit, iam
"tum ita excelluit, ut cum vix in aliquo haec summa concurrant in
"eo tam arcto foedere iuncta, tam splendida omnia fuerunt, ut
"nescires maior ne orator, an elegantior poeta evasisset, ut vero
"iam se maior, iam vir, iam consumatae aetatis, tum purioribus
"studijs obnixius operam dare, priscarum literarum antiquita-
"tisque totius patrocinium in se recipere. Maiorum monumenta
"non ea solum quae in aperto posita omnibus patent, sed si quid
"marmoribus, tabulis notatum olim e terra erueretur, perpetuo
"in manibus, perpetuo in animo habere, illis tam familiariter
"assuescere ut natum melioribus, armis, vel cum antiquis ipsis
"vixisse. Horum cum ille reliquiarum memoriam interpreta-
"tionemque iusto Volumine esset complexus idque mihi aliquando
"hisce de rebus consulenti humanissime ostendisset, admiratus
"sum homini circa leges atque Rubricas occupato, vel ocium tam
"perplexae rei investigandae, vel ingenium tam obscurae atque
"difficilis explicandae suppetere potuisse. Novi plerosque non in-
"doctos quidem homines, et professione ipsa antiquarios, qui si
"huic nostro Jurisconsulto conferantur, pro antiquarijs recentis-
"simi, ipse pro recentissimo summae antiquitatis censeatur. Sed
"haec Commil. peculiaris atque propria praeceptoris nostri laus,
"ut cum omnia sit consectatus, nihil omnino quod liberaliter sciri
"posset, omiserit, in omnibus tamen ita praestiterit, sic excelluerit,
"ut uni tantum rei incubuisse, Cogitationemque posuisse videretur.
"Quis illo dixit usquam uberius? quis docuit subtilius? quis Audi-
"tores Commovit efficacius? Et tamen tantum potuit huic studio
"impertire temporis, quantum ipse a pueritia atque ad hanc matu-
"ritatem a continua Accursij lectione conquievit. Nostrum Com-
"mil. Non solum est istud de eo in politioribus studijs indicium,
"sed eorum ipsorum qui illa Etate ad dicendi singularem quandam
"facultatem nati esse videbantur, Budaeum, Erasmum, Longo-
"lium, Bembum ipsum, caeterosque eius notae eminentissimos
"homines intelligo, quorum ut quisque optimus atque eloquentis-
"simus, ita Alciati amicitiam magis ambire, doctrinam admirari,
"alterum Scaevolam existimare, Eum sibi quisque socium et con-
"sortem gloriosi laboris expetere.† Iam Historiarum quanta,
"quamque innumerata posita notitia, Geographiae vero totiusque
"Orbis quam exquisita et velut in conspectu posita cognitio.
"Nominabam in congressibus Ducem aliquem locum ve paulo
"insigniorem, et statim eius res gestas, situmque loci atque natu-

* See *Life*, p. 11, *note* 16. † See Grimaldi's *Oratio*, Aiij and iij *r* and iiij.

"ram cursu ita reddebat, ut in nullo unquam verbo Eum memoria
"deceperit, quod an eius ingenij capacitati, an immortali diligen-
"tiae ascribam, haud dum fatis constitui. Restabant Graecae
"literae, ut a Doctoribus nostris per fastidium abiectae, ita legibus
"legumque consultis maxime necessariae, Earum eum iam ab
"ineunte aetate gestum aliquem cepisset, postea Vir prudentis-
"simus ita excoluit, ut et multa scripserit graece,* et ex graecis
"multa latina fecerit, utrumque tanta urbanitate atque eloquentia
"ut nisi tam nota celebrisque patria extitisset, illum non ut olim
"Homerum singulae urbes, sed ingentes provinciae Lege licinia
"sibi vendicarent. Sed haec forte apud eos qui nisi quod ipsi
"sciunt, vix quicquam probant, haud ita magni ponderis videbun-
"tur, quae nec ego quidem apud legum studiosos essem persecutus,
"in iam plerosque illius exemplo atque beneficio ijsdem artibus
"imbutos, eandem viam studiorumque rationem ingressos, ad idem
"quoque decus spectare atque aspirare cognoscerem. Et ut nihil
"aliud haec profecto fuerunt partae postea in legibus gloriae
"fundamenta quaedam actaeque radices, sine quibus magnae
"istae quas tantopere mirantur, substructiones Legumque interpre-
"tationes haud omnino constitissent. In hanc Ego orationis
"ultimam partem eum oculos animumque converto, Magnum
"Commil. ac prope infinitum pelagus conspicio. Nec iam ulla oc-
"currit tellus, Cœlum undique et undique pontus. Quid primum
"hic, quid secundum? quae monstra? quas Carybdes, Syren-
"asque commemorem? Vereor profecto in hanc me vastitatem
"et quasi tempestatem committere. Ex littore potius ipsum magno
"in æstu navigante cursumque rectissimum tenentem fauentes spec-
"temus. Hunc ego mihi, Commil. his quas modo commemoravi
"artibus, quasi instructissima quadam navi iuris pelagus ingres-
"sum, ventis atque remigatione, id est ingenio atque diligentia
"tanta celeritate currentem videre videor, ut brevi emenso uni-
"verso spatio lustratis evitatisque omnibus scopulis atque syrtibus
"(quod ne ipsi quidem sapientissimo Ulyssi contigit) ante integrum
"septennium coronatus in portum appulerit, iamque redditus pa-
"triae non Lotophagorum delicias, non magicas Circes artes, aut
"Polyphemi fabulas, sed per illa petita a se Justitiae arcana civibus
"suis attulit, apud quos in foro totum triennium quasi in regno suo
"gloriosissime versatus et eloquentissimi patroni, et Iudicis optimi
"partes omnes implevit. Sed cum divinum hominem et posteri-
"tati natum una quantumvis amplissima civitas non caperet, esset-
"que quasi Iustitiae quidam Antistes atque praeco Nationibus
"a Deo Optimo Maximo destinatus in Gallias accersitus, Aveni-
"one sex centorum aureorum stipendio, addita a Leone Pontifice

* See *Life*, p. 5, and Grimaldi's *Oratio*, Aiiij.

"Maximo Comitis Palatini dignitate, primum legendi rudimentum
"posuit. Cumque iam celebritate famae esset absentibus notus,
"Biturigas patriae suae antiquam metropolim a christianissimo
"Rege aveto ad mille et ducentos aureos honoratio accersitus est,
"ubi eius ita adventus celebratus, ut famam ingenii expectatio
"hominis, expectationem ipsius adventus admiratio superaret.
"Hactenus nobis, hactenus universae Galliae gratulor, quae te
"decus nostrum cognitione atque hospitio familiarem habuerit,
"tuae eruditionis primitias ceperit, adventumque primum, quasi
"alterius Herculis laborem in dispellenda barbarie senserit. Inde
"in Italiam ad persequendas belli reliquias per Mediolanensem
"Principem revocatus, senatoriaque dignitate auctus, Ticini pri-
"mum deinde Bononiae magno omnium nationum concursu aliquot
"annos docuit, Iamque in Ferrariam amplissimis praemijs magno
"ambitu a Duce invitatus, sic collapsum studium restituit, florens-
"que reddidit, ut quae urbs inter Academias vix nominabatur,
"eius tum praesentia quasi Alcibiadis fortuna principatum Italiae
"tenuerit Quocumque, n. se convertisset Alciatus, secum Iuris
"sacra omnia, secum studiosos omnes trahere, ibi Athenas, ibi
"Berytus, ubi legerat Alciatus omnes existimare, quo ego te Papia
"nunc infaustiores, nos miseriores esse video, quibus eo diutius
"frui hic non licuerit, quo ipse ex longa peregratione certas iam
"senectutis sedes animi proposito, et ut videtis fato ipso destina-
"rat. O, infestam semper bonis sed ineluctabilem mortem, O,
"iacturam publicamque legum calamitatem.* Quis per Deos iam
"a Salvio Iuliano leges locupletius? quis tractavit sincerius? quis
" habuit honestius? Ego Comil. hic plura non cõgere Vos ipsi q̃
"eius semp fuerit in interpretando iure gravitas? quae facultas,
"quae copia, nõ opinione tacita animorum vestrorum, sed per-
"spicua admiratione declarastis. Ego certe nihil unquam audivi
"quod de iure subtilius atque explanatius dici videretur, nihil quod
"de Doctorum controversijs gravius, nihil quod de sua sententia
"dici potuerit ornatius, ut mihi iam verum illud esse videatur, quod
"ille frequens usurpabat: Eum qui omnes animo virtutes penitus
"comprehendisset, omnia quae facere vellet facilime tractare.
"Iam vero non ea peculiaris eius palma, propriusque triumphus,
"quam leges a barbaris infuscatas, atque in servitutem abreptas,
"iamque latine loqui desuetas, in avitam bonarum literarum pos-
"sessionem restituit, purgavit, emendavit, et in pristinũ splendorẽ
"vendicavit. In quo quas eum labores tolerasse, quanta invidia
"flagrasse putamus? eum et Monarchae isti Legumque Coriphei,
"ut novo homini insultarent, iuvenes passim propter labores de-
"trectationem odissent. Sed quod non ageret quid non ferret,

* Compare with Grimaldi's *Oratio*, B.

"qui semel se totum publicis studijs dicarat (in quibus etiam et "extinctus est) quique nobis quasi filijs pulchram hanc locupletem "Iuris restituti haereditatem parabat, quam etiam ne expilaretur "aut violaretur; tot libris quasi rationum tabulis communivit, ut "magna spes sit non laboribus victorijsque suis diutissime usuros. "Tibi Pater communisque studiorum parens gratias, tibi immor- "talitatem precamur, quam pro tot in Remp. Christianam meritis "p insigni pietate, Continentia, virtutis amore tibi Deus Opt. Max. "iam largitur. Æternum iã vale. Nos quod restat et tui memo- "riam sanctissime colemus, et quo te natura iusserit Ordine om- "nes Sequemur."

"*Finis.*"

Then follow some Latin stanzas in Hexameters and Pentameters by Stefano Grazio, Jiulio Zurla, by the count Constantino Landi and Federico Scotto. There is also an anonymous Italian sonnet. All the laudatory verses are of a general kind.

Colophon: "Impressum Papiae, Apud Franciscum Moschenum "Bergomensem. Et Iouãnem Baptistam Nigrum, Civesque Papi- "enses. 1550."

This oration by Varondello, though the Latinity is not in all points to be commended, is characterised by greater simplicity and natural feeling than that by Grimaldi. It is a pleasing tribute by an attached pupil to his celebrated master, but gives very few of the incidents of Alciati's career. Indeed these were not required for an audience who knew them so well.

Two or three sentences in English from this *Oration* (*Appendix*, pp. 287, 288), and one from the end (*Appendix* p. 292), will suffice as examples of the nature of the composition and of the praise:

"Alciati was born at Milan, a famous and plentiful city, formerly a colony of the Gauls, and now by the law of the Empire most renowned and august. In this city he had noble ancestors, and was of a family rich in highly learned men and devoted to the most liberal studies. By them, when first he advanced out of boyhood, he was brought up in a manner befitting his birth, and being abundantly instructed in the arts by which a youth of his age is accustomed to be fashioned to humanising culture, he forthwith applied himself to the study of written composition, and quickly from the glory of his talent he began to excel all, and very felicitously to compose Elegies, Comedies, Epigrams, and through the goodness of his nature, before his 16th year, to complete all the Poetical numbers. Even then also he toiled at oratorical

exercises, and so surpassed, that, though scarcely in any one these high qualities concur, in him they were joined in strict alliance and were all so bright, that you did not know, whether he were the greater orator, or the more elegant poet."

And in conclusion:

"For thee, Father and common Parent of our studies, we pray there may be thanksgivings, — for thee, that immortality, which in return for thy benefits towards the Christian Republic, for remarkable piety, for self-control and love of virtue, God, the Best and Greatest, is already bestowing. Now an eternal farewell. What remains we will do, — we will most sacredly revere thy memory; and in whatever Rank nature shall command, in that will we follow."

3° Extracts respecting ANDREA and FRANCISCO ALCIATI from "*De claris legum interpretibus libri quatuor*," LIPSIÆ apud Io. Fred. Gleditschiũ et filium, 1721, in 4to.

These extracts were composed, — (j.) by GUIDO PANZIROLI, cap. cclvi., relating to Andrea; cap. cclvii. to Francisco Alciati.* The substance has been embodied in the pages of the *Life of Andrea Alciati*. The closing sentence relates to Andrea's personal appearance (see *Life*, p. 23):

"Vir fuit corpulentus, procerae staturae, patentibus et promi-
"nentibus oculis, latis et crassioribus labiis, ac fusci coloris."

(ij.) by MARCO MANTUA, at p. 443 of the above named work. His testimony is very brief, comprised in a few lines, and presenting nothing important.

(iij.) At pp. 519 and 530, in a short review of *famous interpreters of law*, CASTELLIANUS COTTA makes mention of Andrea Alciati, and ends with the words:

"Cui optime convenit illud quod Pythius Apollo apud Ennium
"dixisse fertur, eum se esse, unde reges populi et omnes sui cives
"consilium expetant, suarum rerum incerti."

(iv.) An epigram† by MATTHAEUS GRIBALDUS MOPHA, in his *Catalogus Interpretum juris civilis:*

"De Andrea Alciato:
"Consultissimus ornat Alciatus
"Musas, eloquium, sacrasque leges."

* See *Life*, p. 27.

† To which may be added no less than *ten* sets of laudatory verses on Andrea Alciati in Reusner's *Icones*, Basileae, Valdkirch, CIↃ.IↃ.XIC.

(v.) Reference to a work by ALBERICUS GENTILIS, born at Ancona, and professor of law at Oxford in 1587. The work is *De juris interpretibus Dialogi:* 1 *Scaevola*, 2 *Paulus*, 3 *Cato*, 4 *Trebatius*, 5 *Pomponius*, and 6 *Antipater*. In these Dialogues, printed in London in 1582,* which treat of the qualities which make up an interpreter of law, Alciati's name is often introduced, and his works are frequently referred to and quoted from, but there is no connected account of himself.

4° Printed columns from the *Gazzetta della Provincia de Pavia*, No. 33, 17 Iuglio, No. 38, 29 Iuglio, and No. 40, 25 Agosto 1861;—the subject, ANDREA ALCIATI *e le Università d'Italia de' suoi tempi*, by cavalier ANTONIO ZONCADA, professor of Italian literature at Pavia.

This essay, in about ten long 4to columns, gives the usual narrative of the life of Alciati, and contains several interesting and some very curious if not strange particulars respecting both student-life and professor-life in Italy. Some of these particulars are derived from the testimony of Giovanni Bouk, a very valued and learned scholar of Alciati, and are found in the oration which he delivered at Rostock on the occasion of becoming licenciate of laws in that university. Extracts are given below, *Appendix* I. 5°, from this oration, but the essay by professor Zoncada does not really belong to our *Bibliographical Study*, and it is therefore left unquoted. To show however the spirit of the writer we note his concluding sentences:

"Lungi pertanto da noi l'idea che vogliamo intentare un' accusa "al passato a cui abbiamo tante obbligazioni, o tessere un elogio "alla presente generazione quasi con essa il circolo del progresso "sia chiuso. Del passato ricordare gli errori e i traviamenti per "ischivarli, il bene per cavarne profitto a progredire, non insultare, "non adulare il presente, non lo attraversare per ira, non lo asse-"condare alla cieca per viltà, tale vuol essere la divisa del saggio."

5° Written EXTRACTS from the *Historisch-litterarisch.-bibliographisches* MAGAZIN, *errichtet von einer Gesellschaft litterarischer Freunde in und ausser Deutschland: Herausgegeben von* IOH. GEORG MEUSEL. Zweites Stück, Zürich, bey Ziegler und Söhne, 1790, 8vo.

* The title is, "ALBERICI | GENTILIS | *De Iuris Interpretibus* | DIALOGI | SEX. | LONDINI, | *Apud Johannem Wolfium.* | 1582." | Small 8vo, pp. 76. From a copy in the British Museum.

The extracts contain a reference to p. 104 of the above-named magazine, where are "ANEKDOTEN von dem Recht gelehrten Andreas Alciat, von der Verfassung der Italienischen Universitaeten, und von der Ungezogenheit der Italienischen Studenten im XVI. Iahrhundert." These anecdotes appear to be mainly derived from an oration by a pupil of Alciati's, Giovanni Bouk, freely quoted by professor Antonio Zoncada, *Appendix* I. 4°:

"ORATIO de vita Andreae Alciati Iuris Consult. Mediolanensis "clariss. scripta et recitata a Ioh. BOUKIO, V. I. Doctore, cum "decerneritur ei Licentia petendi Doctorum insignia, in celebri "Rostochiensium Academia, VI. Idus Maii anno M.D.LX. 4."

This oration is extremely rare, but is found in a *second* edition in *Hall. Beytragen zu der jurisp. gel Hist.*, Francof. 1571, 4to, at part i. p. 710. Signor Piccaroli gives an abstract of Bouk's *Life of Alciati*, in close agreement with the usual biographies. It is note-worthy however that Bouk testifies that Alciati "in his 26 year had already composed the greater part of his emblems."*

The following citation from Bouk's *Oration* on taking his degree in 1560 presents the account by an eye-witness of student-life in the universities of Italy, when and where Alciati taught, and also supplies favourable anecdotes of the professor himself.

"Ibi ut adhuc auditorium frequentius, ita etiam multo petulan-
"tius ac insolentius quam apud Transalpinos habuerat, habuit.
"Itali enim scholastici, quamvis eum plurimi fauebant, tamen non
"multo minori procacia atque caeteros professores tractaverant.
"Nam legentem suo more, modo revocare, modo manuum pedum-
"que strepitu et supplosione impedire, modo obsibilando pertur-
"bare, modo invehentem in ipsorum mores, per irrisionem, ne
"irasceretur, deprecari, modo eum strependi finem non facerent,
"de suggestu digressum, et domum ire conantem, circumsistere,
"et ludibrii causa in Orbem cirumagere, ficta voce rogando, ne
"gravaretur denuo conscenso suggestu lectionem absolvere: De-
"inde cum rursus ascendisset, lectionemque continuare conaretur,
"loquente ipso, magna vi pluteos scamnoque ferire, iterumque
"silente quiescere et silere, atque ad extremum denuo loqui incipi-
"entem strependo, sibilando de suggestu abigere, abeuntemque
"cachinno, quasi ne bene gesta, prosequi non verebantur. Hunc
"eorum ludum quotidianum non tulisset Alciatus, nisi scivisset,
"eos, inveterata consuetudine, nullum genus Professorum non hoc
"pacto plerosque etiam contumeliosius tractare. Propterea minus

* This assertion is surely without foundation, for the Milan collection, 1522, when the author had completed his 28th year, contained only 100 emblems, and in 1534 there were but 113.

"eorum petulantia movebatur, habebatque eos insolescentes, tu-
"multuantesque plerumque tantum pro delectamento, sic ut eorum
"ineptias suaviter deriderat. Quodam tamen die vehementius
"exagitatus, cum ei stomachum fecissent frequenti auditorio, sonora
"voce increpans, dictitabat. Transalpinos se agnoscere pro scho-
"lasticis et auditoribus suis, qui quieti tantique audirent et scribe-
"rent, Scholasticos Italos se non praedicare scholasticos, sed
"verius rusticos aut milites esse. Nam eam protervitatem non esse
"scholasticorum, sed aut agricolarum aut militum, sed uterentur
"ea sane per se in posterum prolibitu brevi visuros, utrum sibi an
"ipsis obesset: sed posthac non commissurum, ut eorum improbi-
"tate excandesceret, id enim sibi obfuturum non illis. Alia se ra-
"tione illis par pari relaturum. Primum se illorum sibulos, sannas,
"strepitus, supplosiones, acclamationes deinceps, nihilo plus cura-
"turum, quam rabiosorum canum latratus, minusque de ipsis, quam
"de ranis palustribus laboraturum. Deinde fere, ut eos multa in
"docendo celaret, quae alioqui benigne traditurus fuisset, si ipsi
"morigeri essent, Formidandum quoque illis esse vindictam divi-
"nam, propterea, quod non minori impietate, qui in praeceptorem,
"quam qui parentem injurius atque contumeliosus sit, teneatur.
"Ipsos, quod quasi alteri Telchines, Lerii, Iercopum coetus essent,
"per suam improbitatem et pervicaciam indoctos blennos buco-
"nesque (*sic*) mansuros esse, Germanis, Gallisque auditoribus in-
"terea eruditionem legitimam trans Alpes secum transportantibus.
"Fatuos enim esse, qui non intelligerent, quantopere discipulo
"prodesset, praeceptorem habere sui amantem, eos talibus mori-
"bus non nisi odio haberi posse, dixit. Nec secus, ac dixit, fecit.
"Nam minori sedulitate ac fide eos postea docuit, ut primum est
"data occasio, exacto quadriennio illinc emigravit, Ferrariam enim
"ab ejus civitatis principe accersitus, libenter se contulit, idemque
"docendi munus etiam illic sustinuit. Ubi quo rerum successu
"usus sit, brevitatis causa non dicam. Transacto illic itidem qua-
"driennio, jussu Imperatoris per praefectos ejus, Papiam ire est
"compulsus.* Ius enim civitatis Mediolanensis, in quo natus esset,
"et possessiones, quas illic habebat, ire pareret, se ipsi adempturos
"minitabantur. Papiam quod ea urbs in statu Mediolanensi, id
"est in patria sua, ubi se minori in pretio, quam alibi futurum
"metuebat, sita esset et quod praefectum Hispanum haberet, mi-
"nus libenter commigravit. Eventum tamen res meliorem quam
"sperabat, habuit. Nam et pro publice legendi labore mille tre-
"centorum aureorum coronatorum stipendio annuo ultro cohones-
"tatus est, et alio insuper honorifico salario promisso in senatum
"provincialem dictionis Mediolanensis, quod apud Insubres in

* See *Life*, pp. 16, 18, 19, for mention of these changes of residence.

"primis magnificum habetur, est cooptatus, in eaque dignitate us-
"que ad exitum vitae permansit. Ea praeterea frequentia eum
"de jure Consulentium fuit, ut duobus illis stipendiis, et ea quam
"pro dandis consilijs litigantibus capiebat, pecunia in unam sum-
"mam redactis, facile quotannis ad quatuor aureorum Ungarico-
"rum millia conficeret. Illic veluti quintum suae fabulae actum,
"qui, ut scitis, coeteris actibus plausibilior esse debet, hoc est
"ultimam vitae partem feliciter egit, et laudabili exitu conclusit.
"Majori hominum admiratione et applausu, majoreque facilitate
"eum illic jus explicasse, atque de jure respondisse, argumento
"est, primum Mercedis amplitudo, deinde quod, sicut dixi, illico
"post adventum suum in summum illius provinciae senatum est
"allectus. Argumento est praeterea hoc quoque, ejus virtuti ac
"meritis! is honor habitus est, ut illic sine aemulo publice legeret.

"Est enim consuetudo communis omnibus fere Academiis Ita-
"liae, ut semper bini professores juris, diversis quidem auditoriis,
"sed eadem hora easdem materias legant, utque certis anni tem-
"poribus quotidie finita lectione de ijsdem materiis in utriusque
"auditorii circulo disputent, sustinente semper altero ipsorum
"pridie respondendi munus, postridie altero. Qui cedendo alter
"eandoque palmam tulerit frequentiusque auditorium retinuerit,
"ei annua stipes augetur. Id ut docentium diligentiam acuit, et
"auditoribus magnopere conducit, ita docentibus vehementer est
"molestum praesertim senibus. Nam ne senibus quidem, quamvis
"in sua professione insignibus, nisi rarissime magnique beneficii
"loco, ejus rei gratiam faciunt. Itaque in eadem Academia Iason
"jam senio confectus Philippo Decio cui studio fuit, ut etiam ex
"scriptis ejus apparet communi doctorum consensu receptas et
"approbatas sententias, non necessariis argutiis aut subvertere,
"aut labefacere, inclytissimo antagonista non antea fuit liberatus
"quam cum se abiturum saepius minitatus esset, ac serio disces-
"sum pararet.

"Alciato vero hoc honoris caussa non roganti remiserunt, quod
"eum senectute et morbis debilitatum, alacriorem multo ad expo-
"nenda jura reddidit. Nam podagra ei crura et pedes ita vitia-
"verat, ut suggestum nisi a famulo adjutus et sublevatus, pauculis
"gradibus ascendere non posset. Deinde pituita quoque corpus
"compleverat, obsidens etiam plerumque pectus et fauces. Itaque
"cum crebrius ejus ejectandae causa inter legendum screaret, Scho-
"lastici Itali suo more verbis hominem ludificantes, vehementius
"clariusque screare jubent, quo imbroba illa pituita tandem exiret.
"Ille vero dicere, se mirari, illos sibi vitio vertere, quod pituitam
"aere pluvioso ad fauces defluentem eiiceret. Habuit tamen eos
"Papia satis molestos, ipse eos ridere magis, quam ab illis rideri
"solitus. Solebat enim legere in loco sublimiori, inde despectus

"erat in aream scholae medicorum, uno tamen pariete seclusam. "Itaque cum ipso legente, me et aliis Germanis lectionem audien- "tibus, studiosi medicinae mortuam mulierem, anatomiae causa, in "suam aream advectam cum clamore de curru deiicerent, Scholas- "tici Itali subito de subselliis undique suis prosiliunt, atque ad fines- "tram maximam spectandi gratia, concurrunt, nihil curantes, quod "lectionem interrumperent; cum spectaculo satiati resedissent; "vultis scire, inquit Alciatus, quales sitis? Ptolomaeus Aegypti rex "simias habebat sic assuefactas, ut purpura indutae ac personatae "hominum ritu choros exercerent, sic ut, ni proprius aspexisses, "homines esse putares; sed cum quodam die illis coram Rege "humanam saltationem pulchre representantibus, quidam expec- "tantibus nuces e sinu depromptas objecisset, oblitae choreae, "contritis personis dilaceratisque vestibus nucibus diripiendis "inter se depugnaverunt non sine magno spectantium risu; harum "simiarum vos simillimi estis. Nam sed quis vestros mores "ignorans, vos hic tranquillos sedentes et quae leguntur, audire "scribereque videat, quantivis pretii scholasticos vos esse existima- "verit. Coeterum si idem videat, vos cujuslibet leviculae rei "spectaculo veluti aniculae cadavere, oblato abiectis libris, neg- "lecto praeceptore, interrupta lectione, personae dignitatis scho- "lasticae oblitos ad spectandum prosilire plane ut simiae in nuces e "chorea evadebant, an non vos simiarum magis quam scholasti- "corum naturam referre optimo jure confirmabit? Eorum dico "scholasticorum qui plusculum gravitatis habentes Studentes vulgo "vocantur, non eorum, qui a Baiis, id est ineptiis, Baiani dicuntur. "Sed vos cum simiae sitis, nihil mirum est, quod non intelligitis, "quanta dignitas vitae scholasticae sit, quantum morum honesta- "tem constantiamque postulet. Haec illo dicente, tacendo culpam "quodammodo agnoverunt, et nihil aliud egerunt, quam ut haec "festivius, quam a me relata sunt, et cum subrisione asserenti "mediocriter arriderent. Unum mihi ad haec de ejus auditoribus "adiicere libet, unde liquet, quam illorum ineptias parvi penderet. "Fuit, me Papiae commorante, vetus illius Academiae etiamnum "in usu consuetudo, ut Doctores publice docentes centesimam "partem salarii sui scholiosticorum universitati ad convivium pub- "lice parandum darent, ad id omnes doctores et scholastici om- "nium nationum invitabantur. In eo convivio scholastici Itali "plerumque rixas et turbas concitaverunt; propterea Collegium "Iure Consultorum decretum de non danda amplius ea pecunia, "abolendoque illo convivandi more fecit. Illo decreto in vulgus "annunciato Itali scholastici confestim concursu facto, ad docto- "rum aedes, pignorum capiendorum causa discurrunt. Ac aliud "pignoris ab alio ceperunt, quod primo in singulorum domo repere- "runt. Bertium, insignem Iuris Pontificii doctorem, foribus forte

"fortuna occlusis, domi non invenerunt. Quam ob rem inde "digredientes, cum in eum mula per plateam equitantem casu, "incidissent ipso descendere, jusso, mulam pro pignore abdux- "erunt. Atque ille, quamvis reverenter de mula depositus, tamen "non aliter excandescebat ac stomachabatur, quam si (ut in pro- "verbio est) de asino delapsus fuisset. Alciatus vero, cum ex "domino (*sic*) sua aulaeum de pariete demptum eos auferre videret, "nihil commovebatur, sed ridens, animo eas (*sic*) paulisper suo "morem gerere jussit, brevi fõre, ut id sua sponte referrent, ac "proxima lectione rem in locum convertit; cum enim legis cujus- "dam speciem facti de more fingeret, quidam scholastici, inquit, "a praeceptore suo, quem sibi, pecuniolam debere falso arbitra- "bantur, pignoris loco abstulerunt verbi gratia, tapete, quid juris? "Suavis quidem risus statim toto auditorio est co-ortus, nec ipse "risum tenuit, neque ullum verbum amplius ea de re adjecit. "Scholastici ergo ultro tapete ad eum locum reportaverunt; Cae- "teri professores non priusquam Senatus provincialis per edictum "magnas poenas, ni quam primum reddidissent, Scholasticis esset "comminatus decretumque Collegii confirmasset, sua pignora re- "cuperaverunt."

So ends Bouk's tale of student-life and customs in Italy, and of the skill and good sense and good temper with which Alciati ruled and suppressed the rude and mannerless insubordination of the young men. Strange indeed does it now appear that such a narrative should be deemed suitable by a learned man to be rehearsed before a university, when himself was about to be arrayed in the robes of a doctor of laws. Yet at Rostock in North Germany it would be flattering to the audience to be told how, on occasion of a tumult in his class, Alciati himself had commended his Transalpine students, and said "that he acknowledged them to be his scholars who quietly listened and wrote, and that he could not declare the Italians to be his scholars, but more truly country boors and soldiers:" "that for their hissings and shoutings and stamping of feet he cared no more than for the barkings of angry dogs, and should trouble himself respecting them less than for the frogs in the marshes." He added, "that they were infatuated who did not understand how great a benefit it was

to a learner to have his preceptor his own friend, and not through such rudeness of manners be held by him only in contempt."

Several other instances of the extreme rudeness of the Italian students are also recorded; but Alciati appears to have met their misconduct with considerable good temper and prudence, especially the outbreak in his presence when the medical students in the adjoining class-room had suddenly hoisted, within view of the law-class, the body of a dead woman. The outbreak of clamour and uproar was of course tremendous, but Alciati rebuked and appeased it by narrating to his young men the anecdote of Ptolemy king of Egypt and his band of trained apes. Until their real nature was tried they behaved with utmost propriety; they imitated the manners of civilised creatures, and could join in the dance with utmost politeness and good manners. One day, to prove them, a quantity of nuts were thrown amongst them; they instantly forgot their training, and shrieked and fought and scrambled for the nuts in wild disorder. While Alciati was speaking the students acknowledged their fault by becoming silent; and the professor's well-timed tale showed his fitness to guide and govern them.*

The other anecdotes are equally creditable to Alciati's sound judgment,—but enough has been translated to manifest his method and temper.

6° Letters and papers relating to or by Andreas Alciati in the juridical archives, communicated for publication in 1868 in Bologna, and continued now by signor Philip Serafin, professor of Roman law to the university of Bologna, in vol. iii. 1869, pp. 346, &c.

"Documenti inediti per servire alla storia del diritto Andrea Alciati Lettore *nello studio di Bologna*, Anni 1537–41."

* The whole anecdote is in agreement with the kindly way in which Alciati addresses his students at Bologna in 1540. See *Life*, p. 48.

I Riformatori — (dello Studio di Bologna, partito il Lettore Pietro Paolo Parisio e cercato invano di avere in di lui vece Rinaldo Petrucci) — non appare che dopo quel tempo trattassero con altri, o più tosto solo trattarono con un uomo a quei giorni quanto altri celebratissimo, e che disputavansi città e monarchi: il giureconsulto Andrea Alciati. *

"Dopo aver egli insegnato assai giovane in Avignone (1518) quindi con straordinario successo nell' Academia di Bourges, ivi chiamato da Francesco I°. (1528) era tornato in Italia (1532) per invito di Francesco Storza duca di Milano, che lo fece senatore e lo mandò a leggere in Pavia. Se nonchè stante la guerra riaperta da Francesco I°. nel 1535, che tornò da capo sossopra la Lombardia essendo rimasto chiuso quello studio, sia che l'Alciati si fosse offerto a Bologna o i Riformatori, nel saperlo inoperoso, volessero acquistarlo per vanto ed utile della Patria, fatto si è che nell' agosto di quell' anno inviarono uno dei loro a trattare con esso lui, e quegli ne scriveva in tal modo:

"Ill^mi Sig^ri Signori et Benefattori miei singolarissimi.

"Non mi è accaduto fin qui scriver cosa alcuna a V. Ill^me S. del "maneggio con lo Excellentissimo Alciati, perchè in breve si è "concluso con modo non molto diversamente da quello ch' essi "medesimi addimandavano.

"Sopra li dui capi difficili che la condutta fosse almeno di "cinque anni e che più: non si spendesse che scuti 1200 ho usato "ogni arte ch'io ho saputo perchè succedesse il tutto al voler di "V. Ill^me S. ma in effetto non ha voluto passar li quattro anni, cioè "tre di obligo fermo, et uno a piaimento dello Ill^mo et Rev^mo S. "Legato o vice Legato, e di V. S^ie. Et dell' altro è stato sempre "fermo di voler 200 scuti in mano per questa sol volta, et si è "contentato di ogni altra cosa, secondo più appieno quelle ved-"ranno per le incluse copie. Le quali io mando perchè tanto più "presto sappiano quello che ho operato. Et in loro buona gratia "humilmente mi raccomando. Di Piacenza 31 et ultimo d'Agosto "1537. humil. Ser^re

(fuori) "Vangelista Matugliano.

"All' Ill^mi Sig^ri

"li Sig^ri Quaranta di Bologna et Padroni miei oss^mi." †

* "Nato in Milano del Milanese l' 8 di Maggio del 1492, morì a Pavia il 12 Gennajo" [illegible] "1550. Egli aveva studiato il diritto a Pavia da Cassone Maino, e a Bologna da Carlo Rodio: ed in Bologna fu laureato nell' anno 1514, siccome ivi pubblicò ancora scolaro nel 1515 la sua prima opera. Nove sagli ritrasse tre libri delle Istituzioni di Giustiniano." (See *Tiraboschi*, tom. 2, 4, 5, 23.)

† Archivio di Protocollo — Lettere dell' Ambasciatore al Senato dal 1522 al 1553.

Il Matugliano manda la sua lettera da Piacenza dove lo avevano richiamato altre cure, ma che due giorni innanzi si trovasse a Milano per combinar con l'Alciati medesimo pei vederni da lui preziosi documenti.

"Ill^mi et Mag^ci et pad^ni miei oss^mi.

"Ho ricevuto una Credentiale delle S. S. V. V. portata per M. "Vangelista Matugliano, et ho firmato la conducta secondo la "volontà delle S. S. V. V. alle quali ho voluto più obligare che "alla volontà et desiderio mio sperando non poter fare alcuno "maggior guadagno che gratificare a tante Ill^me e nominate per- "sone. Et così accetterò quanto più presto potrò andare più "presto venga a servirli di questi; offerendomi sempre a vostri "comandamenti Alli quali humilmente mi raccomando. Data in "Milano die 29 Ag. 1537. humillima cliens,

"Andreas Alciatus Jurisconsultus."*

"A di 29 Agosto 1537 in Milano Io Andrea Alciati Jurecon- "sulto Milanese questo dì S. S. Sopra scritti ho receuuto da "M. Evangelista Matugliano scudi docento d'oro. Il quali mi ha "pagato a nome del S^mo et Ill^mo Legato, del vice Legato et li "Mag^ci S^ri Quaranta Riformatori dello Stato della Libertà di Bo- "logna. Et sono oltra il mi pensio della conducta che io ho questo "dì medesimo fatta con il detto Evangelista a nome S. S. di an- "dare a leggere la prima lettione della prima cathedra di ragion "civile della vera. A causa che io possa condurre mia robba, "familia, et altre mie cose necessarie in Bologna. Et io promesso "in evento ch'io non mi trasferissi a Bologna al detto effetto di "restituirli ad ogni piacere delli sopra scritti signori senza alcuna "exceptione. Et per fede del vero ho scritto et sottoscritto questo "di mia propria mano, anno die mense S. S.

"Ego Andreas Alciatus scripsi "et subscripsi manu propria."†

"Die Mercurii xxix Augusti 1537. Mediolani.

"Formula conventionis inter me Andream Alciatum Jurecon- "sultum mediolanensem et Evangelistam Matugliatum procuratorem "Ill^mi et Rev^mi D. Gregorii Magistri vice Legati et Gubernatoris, "agentis nomine Ill^mi et Rev^mi D. Legati Bononiae et eiusm pro- "curatorem Magnificorum Dominorum Quadraginta Reformato- "rum Status Libertatis civitatis Bononiae prout apparet publico "documento etc. hoc etc.

"In primis quod dictus Alciatus teneatur se conferre Bononiam "et kalendis novembris proxime futuris profiteri secundum morem.

* Archivio di Piacenza. Istrumenti stromei e atti dall'anno 1536 al 1537.

† Archivio di Piacenza Istrumenti. C. 1

"civitatis Bononiae lectionem Juris Civilis ordinariam de sero "seu vespertinam et publice eam legere in scholis magnis et "alias prout legebant Domini Carlus Ricinus, et Petrus Paulus "Parisius.*

"Quae conventio et conducta duret per triennium continuum, et "preterea etiam per annum arbitratu Ill^mi D. D. Legati seu vice "Legati, et Magnificorum dominorum XL. Reformatorum etc.

"Et suprascripti Rev^mi et Mag^ci D. D. quadraginta teneantur "singulis annis dare et solvere scuta aurea mille et ducenta pro "honorario dictae lecturae solvenda de trimestri in trimestrem "secundum ordinem et per solitas distributiones studij dictae "Civitatis.†

"Ego Andreas Alciatus conveni secundum supra scripta, et ita "me obligo ad omnia et singula supra scripta, et subscripsi manu "propria.

"Ego Evangelista Matuglianus nomine suprascripto conveni "secundum supra scripta et manu propria subscripsi.‡

Frattanto avvicinavasi il tempo dell' apertura dello studio senza che l'Alciati fosse giunto; anzi per curiosa coincidenza propriamente nel giorno stabilito per lo incominciamento delle lezioni, ch' era il 4 di Novembre, il Cardinal Campeggio scriveva da Roma ai Riformatori.

". . . . . Mando alle Sig^rie V. l'alligato che dal Rev^mo Caracciolo "ho havuto in risposta sopra la cosa dello Alciato, quantunque non "sia secondo il desiderio vostro di che a me duole fino al cuore, "Elle vedranno se per me ci resterà a fare alcun altro ufficio, et "dandone avviso non mancherò punto del debito etc."||

* Circa la differenza tra i Lettori ordinari et gli straordinari tratti pubblicando ed illustrando alcuni documenti inediti risguardanti Pietro Pomponazzi — Vedi Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna Anno VI. I Lettori ordinari di eminente scienza forestieri godevano della preminenza, e di non pochi altri privilegi. Quelli di Giurisprudenza al tempo d'Alciati, secondo le *ordinanze sopra il studio di Bologna* leggevano *all' hora debita delle* XXI. L'ora delle lezioni era annunziata dalla Campana di S. Petronio la quale doveva suonare *mezza hora al più computati li botti et finita de suonare li dottori senza aspettarsi l'un l'altro incontinente entrano et comenzano le sue letioni et leggono un hora* per *il meno sotto pena di soldi* XX. Archivio della Prefettura. Diversorum Bust I.

† Riportandoci ai Bandi o Gride di quel tempo lo scuto d'oro dall' anno 1536 al 1539 ebbe il corso di lire 3 e soldi 11; e siccome il valore d'ogni lira negli anni medesimi, secondo un ragguaglio che da Vincenzo Bellini nella Dissertazione sopra la *lira marchesina* corrisponderebbe a 40 baiochi romani pari a £2. 12. 8. di moneta nostra, ne viene che 1200 scuti d'oro equivalgono a £9065.28.

‡ Archivio di Prefettura, Instrumento Busta 1537.

|| Archivio della Prefettura, lettere di Principi Cardinali e Prelati al Senato 1535–1537.

Or ecco l'allegato di cui si discorre:

"Rev^mo et Il^mo Signor mio observandissimo.

"Ho visto quanto V. S. Rev^ma mi scrive sopra el negocio de "M. Andrea Alcyate (*sic*). Et perchè quella intenda el tutto esso "M. Andrea è subdito de la Cesarea Maestà et stipendiato a la lec- "tura di Pavia, et non ha havuto mai licentia dal Senato Cesareo, "quindi stante che egli ha da sua M. la cura del studio di Pavia "pertanto non vedo come el prefato Alcyate si possi obligare ad "altri. Ne io li potria dar licentia senza expresso ordine di S. M. "et specialmente reducendo la cosa in tanto detrimento del stu- "dio, et de la sua città di Pavia.

"Prego V. S. Rev^ma ad haverme per excusato se non posso in "questo negocio servirle come serria el mio Desiderio. In lo "resto mi comandi come a servitor che li sono. Et in sua bona "gratia M. Rev^do N. S. Dio li doni longa vita, sanità et conten- "tezza. In Milano a lì XXVII. de octob. M.D.XXXVII. Di V. S. "Illma et Revma, humilissimo Servitore

(fuori) "Il Card. Caracciolo.

"Al R^mo et Ill^mo

"S. Mio obser^mo il

"Sig. Cardinale Campegio."*

Il nostro lettore aveva dunque contratto un nuovo impegno non curando di sciogliersi prima i vincoli che lo legavano allo studio di Pavia. D'altra parte sin da quando trovavasi in Bourges nel 1528, mentre aveva potuto resistere alle insistenze del Bembo che lo voleva a Padova, poco dopo egli medesimo impegnava il Sadoleto ad ottenergli di leggere in Bologna.

Forse ciò derivava in parte dal suo carattere irrequieto e incostante, ma egli era altresì vanitoso ed avaro, nè certo avrebbe lasciato a Bourges un pingue salario, ed onorificenze tali da veder per anco assistere alle sue lezioni Francesco I° di Francia e il Delfino, se non avesse tenuto all' importanza grandissima di leggere nello studio di Bologna, dove, massime per la scienza del Diritto perduravano tradizioni nobilissime.† Allora non potè compiere quel suo disegno perchè i cittadini di Bourges tanto fecero da costringerlo a rimanere, e solo abbandonò la Francia quando il Duca di Milano ne impetrava il ritorno: ma offrendosi da per se stessa la congiuntura di soddisfare al suo amor proprio come avrebbe potuto resistere e rifiutarla?

Egualmente questa volta egli non ostante la grande avidità del

* Ivi — Marino Caraccioli uomo di stato tenuto in gran conto ai suoi tempi. Carlo V. lo aveva creato suo ambasciatore, e nominato Governatore di Milano; fu protonotario di Leone X. e papa Paolo III. lo fece Cardinale.

† See *Life*, pp. 7, 11, 15.

denaro, rimproveratagli dagli scrittori contemporanei e dai posteri, mostrava vero disinteresse in favor di Bologna accettando la Condotta dello studio per 1200 scudi d'oro, quando ne riceveva a Pavia ben 1500. Della qual somma di 1500 scudi d'oro non può farsi contrasto, conservandosi nell' Archivio di Pavia una lettera dell' Alciati medesimo da cui si raccoglie come trattando esso di tornare a Pavia nel 1546, domandava che gli fosse confermato il salario di scudi 1500 all' anno :* *atteso che esso Alciato molto maggior somma può conseguire a Padova dalli Signori veneti; et a Pisa dal signor Duca di Florentia, et ora a Ferrara conseguisce maggior somma et niente di meno perderà esso Alciato gran pecunia per li consilii qual presentemente occorrono a Ferrara per la opulentia delle proxime cittate, et mancaranno a Pavia per la povertà et sciagura de essa et convicine cittate.*†

Tuttavia, o l'Alciati insistesse per ottenere una licenza dallo studio di Pavia, o i Riformatori impegnassero persone affinchè gli fosse concessa, essi nel giorno 8 di Novembre confidavano ancora d'averlo, siccome risulta dalla sequente lettera:

"Al R^do^ Ricalcati.

"Per lettere di V. S. scritte al Sig^r^ Confaloniere nostro et mos-
"trateci dà S. S. era che non venendo più l'Alciato in questo studio
"si riconducesse M. Restauro con salario di D^ti^ 500, l'anno. Ci è
"parso darle per la presente aviso come esso Alciato ha scritto che
"è disposto a venire et che già si è messo in procinto. Di tanto
"V. S. ne potrà far moto con S. B^ne^ acciochè non le pariamo men
"pronti ad ubbidirla di quello ricerca la santità nostra. Et a
"comandi v^ri^.

"Bon. 8 Novembre 1537."‡

Ma pure gli ostacoli non erano tutti vinti, e da un' altra lettera che il Card. Legato scrive da Roma ai Riformatori nel giorno 19 di Novembre si scorge come *M. Andrea Alciato fu impedito a leggere in questo studio et non pote eseguire la sua intentione.*

Qualunque fosse la ragione però egli non provvedendo in tempo mancò a ogni delicatezza, se pure non fu un mancare decisamente all' onestà. Esso aveva sotto scritto un contratto; aveva ricevuto in anticipazione 200 scuti d'oro, il suo nome già dall' ottobre di quell' anno 1537 figurava nel libro dove segnavansi le ore delle

* These particulars are all most interesting, but scarcely modify any of the statements in the *Life of Andrea Alciati.*

† Questa notizia è dovuta al chiarissimo Prof. Gian Maria Bussedi il quale con rara cortesia volle comunicarla al Cav. Serafini Direttore dell' Archivio Giuridico, non appena questi lo interessò a ricercar nell' Archivio di Pavia documenti relativi all' Alciato.

‡ Archivio di Prefettura. Copia lettere, vol. I., 1536 al 1543, pag. 34.

lezioni, le mancanze, e i salarj, e vedevasi sopra i così detti Rotoli del primo trimestre di quell' anno ;* Laonde i Riformatori credettero di prendere una franca risoluzione, che il Cronista sincrono piu sopra ricordato descrive con queste parole:

"Essendo condutto a legger le leggi dal Senato M. Andrea "Alciato excellente dottore questi in questi tempi si ritrovossi col "salario di mille ducento scudi d'Oro et non venendo, et scrivendo "esser retenuto a Milano dal Cardinal Caraciola Governador di "Milano acciò passasse a Pavia a ristorar quel studio, parendo "al Senato esser delusi lo fecero citare alla Ringhiera del Palagio "del Podestà a dover venire a sodisfare alle promissioni fatte da "lui di propria mano, oltra l'instrumenti fatti per man di nodari "delle conditioni fra l'uno e l'altro. Et ciò fecero fare tre giorni "continui."

Qui seguono altre notizie e quindi:

"Cosi passando la cosa intendendo M. Andrea Alciato come "era stato citato alla Ringhiera di Bologna in Novembre† per "osservare le sue promissioni, tanto fece che havuta la licentia dal "Cardinale Caraciola venne a Bologna ove fu molto lietamente dal "Senato et da tutto il studio, ricevuto, et con festa dei cittadini." ‡

Quando veramente venisse non è detto, nè fatalmente trovansi documenti a provarlo: Il Cronista nota il fatto tra gli ultimi avvenimenti di quell' anno; e i Riformatori nel Gennajo del 1538 presero questa importante deliberazione.

"Die veneris XXV. Januarij 1538.

"Congregatis Magnificis D. D. XL[a] Riformatoribus status liber-"tatis civitatis Bononiae in Camera Magnifici D. Locu Tenentis, "in eius presentia ac de ipsius consensu et voluntate inter eos "infrascripta partita posita et obtenta fuerunt.

(Omissis.)

Comprobatio repositionis in Album Doctorum ex. mi D. Andreae Alciati.

"Item D. Andrea Alciatus Maximus et Eminentissi-"mus Iuris Civilis interpres, recte et legitime pro almi "Gymnasij Bononiensis utilitate et ornamento, in Al-"bum Doctorum, unde certis de causis expunctus "et erosus fuerat, quod ante Senatum viva voce ut "fieret mandavit, nunc factum per hoc suum Senatus

* Intorno ai *Rotoli* o tavole per la distribuzione dei salarj ed al prezioso *Regestum Punctationum Doctorum* esistenti nel medesimo Archivio, vedi i Documenti pomponazziani già citati.

† Lo storico aveva scritto ottobre che cancellò per iscrivere invece Novembre.

‡ Biblioteca Universitaria. *Storie di Bologna di Fra Leandro Alberti.* Tom. iv. lib. ii. deca. 7, pag. 497.

"consultum factum per fabas albas omnes XXVI.
"comprobavit."*

"Andrea Alciato aveva dunque finalmente principiate le sue lezioni."

"Col proceder dei documenti vedremo quanto gli fossero contrastate, e con quali armi, nello spazio dei quattro anni da lui passati a Bologna. *B. Podestà.*"

Remark by Signor Piccaroli:

"La continuazione non è uscita finora (Ottobre 1871); nè uscirà così presto, per quanto mi consta, a cagione d'altre cure che tengono occupato l'autore. Spero di poterle mandar copia della lettera del Prof. *Bussedi* (ora sgraziatamente defunto) della quale è cenno nella Nota† alla pagina 8 dell' articolo del Podestà.

(Signed) Piccaroli."

These letters and papers, communicated through signor Piccaroli by professor Serafin of Bologna, possess considerable value and interest, but they do not demand any special review. Had they been received early enough, some of them might have been advantageously interwoven with Alciati's *Life.* The formal contracts between the jurisconsult and the authorities of Bologna are deserving of notice; and also some of the letters of Alciati, and the account of the law proceedings respecting the non-fulfilment of some of his engagements.

It seems clear that Alciati could not leave Pavia when his presence was required in Bologna. He had been summoned to the Milanese university by the supreme authority, and it was at the risk of fine and confiscation if he refused to obey. He knew however that the time was coming when he would be free to quit Pavia, and therefore he did not resign his appointment in Bologna, though in one respect he could not fulfil his engagement, — that is, he could not make his appearance there at the time of the opening lecture.

As to his love of money, he was no more avaricious than his contemporaries. Whenever they could command an un-

* Archivio della Prefettura. Partitorum 1538–1542, vol. xviii. pag. 64 R.

† See *Appendix*, Doc. I. 6°, (note †) p. 304.

usual honorarium or a splendid salary, they were seldom so generous as not to ask it. Alciati's mental powers and his position justified him in aiming at high pecuniary rewards and professional honours; but for large gains he certainly in return gave large benefits. Envious tongues were around him to gossip over his revenues, and as these were considerable both from his lectureship and his practice of the law, his detractors became embittered and unscrupulous.

7° PART of a letter from professor BUSSEDI to professor SERAFINI (May 10th 1869) referred to above.

"Chiaris^mo^ Sig. Professore.

. . . . . .

"Ella mi suggerisce come materia di esercizio la storia di questa "università, cioè qualche importante periodo di essa o le notizie "di alcuno de' valenti giureconsulti che la illustrarono. Ma la cosa "non è così facile come parrebbe a prima vista. Questa università "non ha ancora una storia bene ordinata, come l'hanno per "cagion d'esempio o in tutto o in buona parte Bologna, Pisa, "Padova, etc. Sebbene nella seconda metà del secolo p. p. non "mancassero da Vienna eccitamenti, anche con promessa di onori "e di premi, a supplire a una tale lacuna. Anche i documenti "sparsi in più archivi e alcuni fuor di quì, non furono mai raccolti "tutti insieme, e anzi d'una gran parte di essi, che ancora al prin- "cipio di questo secolo si sapeva dov' erano, s'è perduta la traccia.

"Per darle un saggio dello stato delle cose e insieme alcun "segno del conto nel quale tengo i suoi desiderii, ... le dirò "il povero resultato delle indagini da me fatte in questi pochi "giorni intorno all' Alciato del quale ella pur vorrebbe qualche "documento appartenente agli anni fra il 1537 e il 1541. La tra- "dizione pavese (come si può raccogliere dalla nota 22 dell' elogio "di lui recitato dal Prof. Giuseppe Prina nell' inaugurazione degli "studii dell' università dell' anno 1810–1811) porta ch' esso fu "quì in tre periodi cioè 1533 a 1537, 1542 a 1544, 1546 fino alla "morte. Da questa tradizione non discorda ciò che leggesi in un "orazione funebre che gli fu fatta pochi giorni dopo la sua morte "e stampata nel mese stesso di questa e che quì trascrivo comin- "ciando dal punto ch' esso tornò di Francia." *

* The passage which professor Bussedi introduced in his letter is quoted from Grimaldi's *Oratio Funebris* on the death of Alciati, referred to at pp. 25–27 of our work. Grimaldi's oration, with a translation into English, is among the fac-simile reprints of the Holbein-Society, 1871, and consequently is now more accessible to readers than it was.

"*Accersiuit mox illū de longinquis regionibus, resistentiq; & quocommodo tergiuersanti iure suo in iecit manum Franciscus S. F. Mediolanensis, Dux amplissimaq; senatoria dignitate ornauit, & ut Ticini doceret ab eo impetrauit. Bononiam Studiorum alumnam paulo post petijt in qua honorificentissime exceptus quatuor annos magno auditorū concursu Ius ciuile professus est. Ticinum reuocatus (ita iubente Carolo Imperatore Sereniss.) aliquot annos hic resedit. Ferrariam Ducis Herculis amplissimis cōditionibus adductus deinceps inuisit, & postratam Academiam extulit. Tandem post infinitos peregrinationis labores Ticinum reuersus, hic sedes ac domicilium collocauit, docuitq; tres aut quatuor annos ad summum, assidua doctorum iurorum frequentia undique confluentium. Deniq; dum pedum dolore, aliquot annos leuiter quidem primo (ut fit) fortius mox ac crebrius laboraret continua febre adiuncta paulatim intra decem et quatuor dies confectus, integris usq; dum interiret semper sensibus, ad tertium Idus Ianuar. quinquagesimum octauum annum aon excedens mortem obijt.*"

"La cosa potrebbe chiarirsi anche rispetto agli anni, se ci fosse "intera la serie de' rotuli lectorum studii papiensis di quegli anni. "Ma per le frequenti sospensioni delle scuole cagionate da peri- "coli e da travagli di guerre mancano i rotuli dal principio del "secolo sin bene innanzi. Era qui l'uso che il senato di Milano "al principio d'ogni anno scolastico mandasse il rotulo de' giuristi "e quello degli artisti colla designazione delle letture e de' lettori "e in progresso dell' anno li mandasse di nuovo coll' aggiunta degli "stipendii per servire, credo, di base al pagamento di questi. Il "primo rotulo, nel quale comparisce l'Alciato, è quello dell' an. sco- "lastico 1536–1537." "Cum circa illa confusa et turbatissima tem- "pora (dice il Prof. Giacomo Parodi * nel suo Syllabus lectorum "studii Ticinensis, MS.) rotulis seu tabulis lectorum careamus, "ipsum (Alciatum) tantum invenimus primo ex rotulo (an. 1536) "ad lecturam iuris civilis de sero, quae aliis semper praecelluit, et "successive usque in praesens omnium primaria dicitur, cum titulo "et distinctione magnifici et senatoris ac cum ingenti et nulli un- "quam assignato stipendio scutorum mille." Vero è che il Parodi aggiunge che, "in subsequentibus rotulis a dicto anno 1536 ad 38 "nominatur." Ma di questi successivi rotuli a me non venne fatto di vederne alcuno e mi par poco probabile che l'Alciato continuasse quì anche nell' anno 1537–1538 trovandosi negli atti dell' Università una lettera del Senato al Vicecancelliere dello studio, cioè al vicario del vescovo, de' 2 Novembre 1537, colla quale per i rumori di guerra è sospeso lo studio "vocatis iisdem professoribus,

* Il Parodi fu professore di Legge nell' univ. di Pavia del 1723 al 1763. *Piccaroli.*

"eos monebitis nos pro hoc anno tantum eis concedere ut a solito "legendi munere liberi sint. "Iterum (continua il Parodi nel suo "Syllabus) anno 1548 adnotatur (Alciatus) ad eandem cathedram "primus cum iisdem praerogativis Magnifici et Senatoris assignato "stipendio libr. 7500, et anno 1549 accedente ad hanc urbem "Philippo tum Hispaniorum principe, Alciatus brevi et erudito "eloquio eum nomine totius papiensis studii excepit, quod sere- "nissimo principi gratum adeo fuit ut oratorem ipsum aureo tor- "que propriis manibus decoraverit; et in ipsa lectura continuavit "tam per se quam per substitutum Franciscum Alciatum eius ex "fratre nepotem usque ad annum 1550, quo temporalibus mundi "gloriis plenus ad aeternas convolavit in hac civitate Papiae pridie "idus ianuarii et fuit tumulatus in Ecclesia Sancti Epiphanii cum "inscriptione, &c. Pro eius studio et lectura retinendum est, "ipsum legisse etiam postquam fuit senator et in ipso ministerio "existens, litter. Senatus 29 oct. 1546 ubi etiam indicta fuit dies "aperitionis eius lecturae." Ecco il tenore di questa lettera, "Carolus V. Romanorum imperator, &c. Dilecte noster. Moniti " sunt lectores qui in hac urbe reperti fuerunt, ut ad diem condic- "tam, scilicet tertiam novembris proximi, in ista urbe in locis suis "auspicentur, in quam diem spectabilis Senator noster dñs An- "dreas Alciatus profiteri incipiet. Propterea volums quod in "aliam diem principium legendi differatur. Monebitis deinde nos "de eventu auspicationis et quid sperandum sit de rebus studii. "Dat. Mediolani die 29 octobris 1546. Signat. Iac. Cattaneus, "a tergo. R. D. Vicecancellario studii nostri Papiensis nostro "dilecto. Et sigillat."

Alle cose qui sopra riferite aggiungerò, se mai fosse per lei d'alcun momento qualche altro cenno tratto da appunti presi in parte negli Archivii di Milano da chi* al finir dell' ultimo secolo o al principio di questo raccolse de' materiali per la storia dell' università pavese. Con lettera ducale del 10 Luglio 1533, Andrea Alciato e Francesco Ripa furono richiamati a questa università. "Revo- "camus te" (è scritto fra le altre cose in quella lettera e credo in particolare all' Alciato) "ad Ticinense gymnasium erigendum. Et "ut intelligas te non tantum ad labores quam ad labores (honores?) "acciri: si dicto audiens eris, praeter stipendium manis oblatum "tibi anno superiore vel ordine senatorio te decorabimus. Quam- "obrem tunc partes erunt quae a nobis tibi proponuntur diligenter "exequi: sin aliter feceris, in te edicti nostri contemptorem ex "edicto nostro agemus."

Da un annotazione che trovo tra quegli appunti sembra risultare che l'Alciato da' 3 Novembre 1535 fino a' 9 Agosto 1536

* Fu il prof. di questa università. *Piccaroli.*

trattò in Pavia in 126 lezioni la prima parte del Digesto nuovo, "omnia haec expedivit in centum et viginti sex lectionibus." Ma da una lettera ivi citata di Alfonso (credo s'abbia a intendere del governatore di Milano Alfonso d'Avalos) del 2 Decembre 1539 consta che lo spettabile D. Andrea de Alzate allora insegnava in Bologna. Da un' altra lettera poi dello stesso Alciato del 1546 si raccoglie che trattando esso di tornare a Pavia domandava che gli fosse confermato il salario di scudi 1500 all' anno, atteso che esso Alciato molto maggior somma può conseguire a Padua dalli Sig^ri Veneti et a Pisa dal Sig. Duca di Florentia et ora a Ferrara conseguisce maggior somma et niente di meno perderà esso Alciato gran pecunia per li consilii, qual frequentemente occorrono a Ferrara per la opulentia delle cittate proxime et mancaranno a Pavia per la povertà et sciagure da essa e convicine cittate etc.

Mi rincresce di mandar queste poche e sgranate notizie.

The general narrative pursued in this excellent letter by professor Bussedi accords so well with that of the *Life of Andrea Alciati* that it is unnecessary to make selections. Here and there a date may differ, or the order of events vary, or opinions respecting him may not agree; but essentially it is the same man and the same character that are portrayed. The reader therefore may be left to search out the diversities in the two accounts.

8° LETTERS accompanying the foregoing documents, and relating to them and to Andrea Alciati, from SIGNOR VITTORIO PICCAROLI of Pavia to THE AUTHOR of the *Bibliographical Study*.

I.

Signor Piccaroli's account of "ANECDOTES of ANDREA ALCIATI," referred to in *Appendix* I. 5°, p. 294.

"Il sig. *Jugler* nei 'Beyträge zur jurist: Biographie,' vol. 3° p. 14 e seg. ha scritto una buona vita dell Alciato. Però non trovo che si sia valso della seguente memoria: 'Oratio de vita Andreæ Alciati Juris Consult. Mediolanensis clariss. scripta et recitata a Ioh. *Boukio* V. J. doctore, cum decerneretur ei licentia petendi Doctorum insignia, in celebri Rostochiensium Academia vi. Idus Maii anno M.D.LX.–4.' Questo breve scritto è rarissimo, ed io non lo tengo che in copia manoscritta. Pure fu esso veramente stampato e se ne vede una 2ª edizione nei 'Hall. Beytr. zu der jurist. gel.

Hist. parte 1ª p. 710, Francof. 1571,–4.' Il dottor Bouk fu uditore a Pavia dell' Alciato poco prima che questi morisse, e conobbe personalmente quest' uomo dotato di un carattere morale singolare. Il discorso di Bouk avrebbe dunque potuto fornire alla biografia di Jugler qualche importante notizia. — Alciato usciva da una famiglia patrizia milanese, la quale non era ricca.* Fu educato nelle humane lettere prima che si dedicasse alla jurisprudenza, della quale intraprese lo studio a 26 anni, dopo ch'egli aveva già composto la maggior parte de' suoi Emblemi. Allo studio academico del Diritto lo esortò. —'Vir primarius e familia trivultiorum, quae in Gallia Cisalpina imprimis nobilis et honesta est,' e lo sussidiò con denaro. Il motto di Alessandro μηδεν 'αναβαλλομενος, fu pure il suo, e lo teneva scritto a grosse lettere sopra il suo camino a Pavia, per averlo sempre davanti gli occhi a mantenergli viva l'operosità. In Avignone fece conoscenza con Bonifacio Amerbach di Basilea ch'egli altamente stimava, e col quale ebbe poi continua corrispondenza. A Bourges ebbe per uditori anche molti italiani, che là convenivano a motivo di lui. Accorrevano colà anche molti tedeschi, i quali, in quel tempo, solevano frequentare numerosi le Università francesi e italiane per studiare il Diritto. A Bologna vuolsi che avesse 'duorum fere millium aureorum germanicorum annuum stipem.' (Jugler dice soltanto 1200 ducati italiani.) Il B. (Bouk) descrive anche lo sconveniente contegno degli studenti italiani a Bologna (*Segue la citazione delle pagine del Bouk.)*" See *Appendix* I. 5°, pp. 294–298.

For the motto adopted from the words of Alexander the Great, see *Preface* and *Life of Andrea Alciati,* p. 3, and *Preliminary Notice,* p. 99.

(II.)

"R. Biblioteca Universitaria
di Pavia. Pavia li 23 ottobre 1871.

"Onorevole Signore,

"E' vergognoso per me, massime dopo tanta sua cortesia, d'averla fatta stare finora senza risposta. Chi sa che sciagurato giudizio ella avrà fatto di me, e me lo merito. Ora al segno a che mi son lasciato ridurre, non mi resta altro partito fuorchè di render mele a tutta sua discrezione; and your will be done.

"Dal punto ch'ella conosce la nostra lingua, le chiedo anch' io il permesso di valermi con lei di questa, che mi viene com' è naturale, molto più ubbidiente alla penna. Prima di tutto io la devo

* Panziulus (leggasi Panzirolus), lib. ii. c. 169, dice che il de lui padre fosse un 'pecuniosus negociator.'

ringraziare della sua lettera gentile, e assai più del dono che le è piaciuto di farmi del suo bel volume.* Io non ho meritato da lei quel tratto di squisita liberalità, e me ne sento anzi confuso. Ho scorso il libro da capo a fondo con vero piacere e profitto, e se la mia voce fosse più autorevole vorrei assicurarla che quella materia non poteva trattarsi con più ingegno, con più senno e miglior corredo di erudizione.

"Ora le do conto degli oggetti che accompagnano questo mio foglio. Tralasciata la trascrizione dell' Orazione di Grimaldi (Grimaud) della quale ella dice nella sua lettera d'avere avuto sufficienta notizia, ella troverà qui:

"1° L'effigie del sontuoso monumento che Francesco Alciato pose allo zio nella chiesa di S. Epifanio in Pavia, ove l'Andrea ebbe sepoltura in una cappella intitolata a questo Santo. L'effigie è staccata da un essemplare imperfetto dell' opera: ANTICHITA' PAVESI, di *Gius. Voghera*, Pavia 1830, e segg.† Il monumento è tutto *in marmo d' Ornavasso* (al Lago Maggiore) quello stesso che ha servito e serve tuttora per le statue del Duomo di Milano. Non son riuscito a saperne lo scultore; ma ne è così buona l'esecuzione, da farlo sembrare lavoro di più anni addietro. Il tempo in cui fu operato e le descrizioni che si hanno della persona dell' Alciato fanno credere che somigli al vero. La chiesa di S. Epifanio che sorgeva presso il muro orientale della città fu demolita coll' annesso convento de' monaci Lateranesi nel 1790; però fino dal 1773, in previsione di questo fatto, il monumento d'Alciati s'era trasferito nell' edifizio dell' Università, dove ancora adesso si trova.

"2° Orazione di Pietro *Varondel — prima oratio* — la seconda fu quella di Grimaud. See *Appendix* I. 2°, p. 286–292.

"3° Estratti dal Panziroli, dal Mantua, dal Cotta, dal Mofa e dal Gentili. See *Appendix* I. 3°, p. 292, 3.

"4° Articolo a stampa sull' Alciato del cav. Antonio Zoncada, professore di letteratura Italiana nella nostra Università; avuto per cortesia dell' autore. See *Appendix* I. 4°, p. 292.

"5° Estratto dall' Historisch-litterar.-bibliogr.-Magazine, Anekdoten von dem Rechtsgelehrten Andreas Alciat. Questo servì di fondamento al precedente articolo (No. 4°), del Prof. Zoncada. Mi son permesso di voltarne in italiano la parte tedesca. See *Appendix* I. 5°, p. 293–298.

"6° Articolo cavato dall' *Archivio giuridico*, Bologna 1869, col titolo: Andrea Alciati lettore nello Studio di Bologna, anni 1537–41, di B. Podestà. See *Appendix* I. 6°, p. 299–307.

* Alluding to the present of a copy of the author's work, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*.

† A diminished copy of the engraving of Alciati's monument is to be found at the beginning of our work.

"Se il cattivo saggio che le ho dato della ma sollecitudine, le permette di aver ancora fiducia nelle mie promesse, le dirò che ho preparata, ma non anche finita un' altra lettera per lei, in cui raccolgo quel poco che ho saputo spigolare circa i quesiti che ella mi fa nel suo pregiato foglio del quale, per pudore, non accenno la data. Io devo assentarmi parecchi giorni da Pavia, e non potendo compir la mia scrittura prima di partire, nè volendo più oltre stancare la sua sofferenza, a tutto mio scapito, le faccio intanto il presente invio che tengo pronto da qualche tempo. Le nuova lettera non tarderà molto a seguirlo, if God help me! Li rinuovò i miei più vivi atti di grazie pel carissimo volume da lei favorito, la prego della sua gentile indulgenza, e me le dichiaro con la più perfetta stima. Devotissimo

"All onorevole *(Signed)* Vittorio Piccaroli."

"Sig. Henry Green."

(III.)

'Pavia li 16 Dicembre 1871.

'Onorevole e caro Signore,

'Non so come ringraziarla così del nuovo suo splendido dono che mi giunse in perfetto stato, come della lettera gentile che lo ha seguito di pochi giorni.* Se per una parte cresce la mia stima per lei a vederla adoperare l'ingegno, la coltura e l'attività in egregi lavori, e aumenta la mia gratitudine per la liberalità che usa con me, d'altra parte resto sempre più mortificato che i miei piccoli servigi le arrivino tanto a rilento da esserle di poco o nessun ajuto. Intanto io rilevo che se le fossi venuto più presto con le altre mie notizie, ella non avrebbe stampato—"and on Alciati's "monument in the cathedral church of Pavia," ma avrebbe detto che il monumento fu eretto nella *chiesa di S. Epifanio* e ora se trova nell' Università. Questa ed altre mie colpe non me le so in verun modo perdonare. Probabilmente le pompe funebri all' illustre defunto furono celebrate nella Cattedrale in segno di maggior onore e per esser questa chiesa più vasta. Del resto il suo pregievole volume e il più piccolo che lo accompagna eseguiti col metodo della fotolitografia sono riusciti bellissimi, e chi li vede li ammira.

'Ora, sebbene io scorga dal suo pregiato foglio che il poco che ho a dirle dell' Alciato ha perduto per lei ogni opportunità, seppur mai n'avesse avuta, pure m'arrendo al suo invito e glielo scrivo, non foss' altro perchè il torto che ho della lunga tardanza non

* A copy of the fac-simile of the Holbein-Society's reprint of Grimaldi's *Oratio*, and of the Lyons edition of the *Emblems*, 1551, had been presented to Signor Piccaroli.

s'aggravi del sospetto in lei ch'io non mi sia dato briga de' quesiti ch'ella mi ha posti.

'Può tenersi per accertato che l'Alciato morì in Pavia la notte dell' 11 al 12 gennaio del 1550 in seguito a breve malattia di stomaco, forse complicata di gotta che pativa da più tempo. Un altro lungo malore aveva sofferto nel 1548 dopo il suo ritorno da Ferrara in questa città; come è accennato in una lettera del Vicecancelliere dello studio di Pavia a Carlo V., in data dell' 11 luglio 1848 (1548) nella quale il detto Viceca^re^ corrispondendo all' invito dell' imperatore, propone due supplenti, pel prossimo anno scolastico, a due cattedre vacanti, "et comperio duos. Alter est Fran-"ciscus Alciatus, isthic etiam Maestati V. fortasse notus, qui hoc "anno dum Andreae Alciati aegrotantis vice fungeretur, satis mi-"rum in modum scolasticis omnibus faciebat. Alter est." — Ho cercato invano nell' archivio della chiesa di S. Francesco, ove passò l'archivio di S. Epifanio, l'atto mortuario dell' Alciato: una parte di quell' archivio andò smarrita, e non vi si trovano ora notizie anteriori all 1615.

'Mi riuscì meglio un' altra ricerca, ed è questa: Il. Prof. Prina (?) nel suo elogio di Alciato letto nel 1811 (ch'ella di certo conosce), dice alla nota 24 che "Alciato abitava in una casa ora "de' Vistarini." Questo palazzo costrutto circa il 1700 dista pochi passi dall' antico sito di S. Epifanio. Pensai che tra le carte di famiglia dell' attuale conte Giorgi di Vistarino potesse trovarsi qualche documento che facesse al mio caso; e in fatti per indagine e favore del procuratore della casa ebbi in mano un istromento del 1585 di transazioni occorse tra un Claudio Pozzi e gli eredi del cardinale Francesco Alciato, nel quale si richiama un altro istromento anteriore dove è detto che Andrea Alciato nel 1535 comperò in quell' area tre piccole case mezzo rovinate per fatto di guerra, e vi edificò una propria casa da essa abitata e passata poi all' erede nipote Francesco. La casa d'Alciato diede poi posto con altre vicine alla presente de' Vistarini. Questo fatto nuovo benchè di poco rilievo, vale per me a salvare alquanto l'Alciato dalla taccia di leggero e instabile che gli fu apposta. Tale non può dirsi, a mio credere, un uomo che quasi al suo primo giungere in Pavia si costruisce una casa propria per abitarvi egli stesso, e dopo essersi due volte allontanato di qui, prima per Bologna, poi per Ferrara, ritorna a finirvi i suoi giorni: ed è anche noto che quando Alciato accettò nel 1537 di leggere a Bologna, e nel 1543 a Ferrara, l'una e l'altra volta lo studio pavese era chiuso a cagione di guerra: e chi non sa che in que' tempi parecchi assai de più illustri legisti, come il Castiglione, l'Amadeo, il Baldo, il Giason Maino e altri giravano da una ad altra università o per voglia di nuovo plauso, o di maggior lucro? Del resto io non presumo di purgare affatto

l'insigne milanese da questa pecca e assai meno da altre che gli si attribuirono di avaro e ambizioso, alle quali pur troppo ei medesimo dà appiglio anche nelle sue lettere; io so però, ed ella meglio di me, che l'alta dottrina e il nuovo indirizzo da lui dato allo studio della giurisprudenza gli crearono, insieme a molti ammiratori anche molti nemici pronti a mordere l'uomo non potendo mordere lo scienziato.

'Nè in questa biblioteca, nè nell' archivio universitario, nè — per quanto m'è noto — presso alcun privato in Pavia, non si possedono MSS. dell' Alciato, sia d'argomento scientifico, sia delle materie a cui allude il Grimaldi nella sua orazione. Esiste invece nella biblioteca un Cod. cart. MS. in fol., di carte 127 (mancano da 119 a 126) d' ignota provenienza, contenente un corso di 118 lezioni tenute quì dall' Alciato nel 1535, compendiate da un suo discepolo Pomponio Cotta in detto anno, col titolo: "In legem "primam et xv ex titulo de operis novi nunciatione. In legem "primam xii, xv, xvii, xviii, xxiii, xxviii, ex titulo de acquirenda "possessione interpretatio." In fine del volume, M.D.XXXV. Finita die ix. Augusti. Ed esiste pure una breve storia inedita di Pavia e dell' Università, che credesi di un Francisco Gemelli gesuita, prof. qui di retorica nella 2^da^ metà dello scorso secolo, nella quale, fra altre cose da tutti ripetute intorno all' Alciato, si legge: "buon "numero di lettere latine di questo grand' uomo esistono nella "libreria del Gesù in Roma tra i MSS."

'A Milano si crede generalmente che l'edizione del 1522 degli Emblemi sia un mito: a quanto ne so io, nessuno l'ha, nessuno l'ha vista. Chi sa dove n'abbia preso notizia il Brunet e il Graesse che gli va dietro. Dalle parole di Alciato a Calvi "libellum com-"posui epigrammatorum," non n'esce chiaro che il libro fosse stampato; e lo stesso Mazzucchelli non se ne mostra sicuro: "si "può credere (egli dice) che la 1^a^ edizione si sia fatta nel 1522, o "in quel torno, perchè in quell' anno furono da lui composti;" è singolare, nè so scoprirne il perchè, come nessuna edizione conosciuta degli Emblemi abbia avuto le cure immediate dell' autore, e nessuna, io credo, lui vivo, se ne sia fatta in Italia tranne forse quella di Venezia del 1546, mentre egli professava a Ferrara. Ed è pure singolare che fra tante impressioni se ne contino pochissime Italiane. Non v' ha dubbio che quest' operetta destò più simpatia e grido fuore che in casa, e ciò è tanto vero, che anche adesso chi, non badando a cure e spese, pensa a rimettere in onore quel nostro vanto letterario nazionale, è lei, inglese, alla dotta sollecitudine del quale, noi italiani siamo in debito di vera e viva riconoscenza.

'Questa biblioteca non possede che 2 edizioni degli emblemi, certamente a lei note, cioè quella di Lione, Rovillio 1566, 8vo,

conforme in tutto a quella del 1551 da lei riprodotta in fotolitografia, eccetto i fregi intorno alle pagine che hanno diversa collocazione, e quella di Padova, Tozzi 1621, 4to. In Pavia, ch'io sappia, non c'è altro esemplare degli emblemi d'Alciato. Di questi giorni me ne fu mandato a vedere da un paesello poco lungi di quì un esemplare di edizione lionese che non vedo indicata nelle bibliografie che tengo; e le ne do un cenno, pel caso quasi impossibile, ch'ella non ne abbia notizia. Il titolo dice: "And. "Alciati emblemata, ad quae singula, praeter concinnnas, inscrip- "tiones, imagines, ac caetera, quae ad ornatum et correctionem "adhibita continebantur, nunc recens adjecta sunt epimythia, qui- "bus emblematum amplitudo, et quae in iis dubia sunt, aut ob- "scura illustrantur. Lvgdvni, apud haered. Gvl. Rovil. M.DC.IIII," in piccolo 16^mo^. La prefazione, gli emblemi, le figure sono affatto come nell' ediz. di Lione del 1566, che le ho detto sopra, epperciò identiche all' ediz. del 1551 da lei riprodotta in fotolitografia; salvochè le pagine non hanno fregio all' ingiro, e ogni emblema reca, come dice il frontispizio, una illustrazione.

'Che l'Alciato abbia eseguito egli stesso o tutti o in parte, i disegni delle figure poste ai suoi emblemi, nè egli, mi pare, nè altri l'han detto. Una prova negativa indiretta se n'avrebbe in *Lomazzo*, suo quasi contemporaneo, *Idea del tempio della pittura*, *Milano* 1590. Vi si legge a pag. 122, "atteso che nelle imprese, significati, "e simili, la virtù delle parole che gli s'aggiunge che dimandano "motto overo anima ajuta sommamente a dimostrar palese il "concetto dell' inventore come minutamente dichiarano l'Alciato, "il Bocchio, il Costa, il Paradino, il Simeoni, Gioan. Sambuco, il "Giovio, ed ultimamente Girolamo Ruscelli, provandolo con au- "torità, tolte da Greci, da Latini, e da altri scrittori antichi."* Chi de' nostri artisti insigni di quel tempo avesse potuto fargli i disegni, non saprei trovare. Leonardo e Michelangelo, un momento da lei sospettati, non penserei che fossero; quello, fino dal 1515 lasciava Milano per seguire Francesco I. in Francia; questo, dal 1512 circa fino alla sua morte, stette pressochè di continuo a Roma. A meno che fosse il Vasari, con cui l'Alciato ebbe amicizia in Bologna (1537–1541) come accenna il Vasari stesso nella propria vita, dove, a proposito di un epitaffio dettatogli dell' Alciato, per un suo dipinto, pel quale s'era contentato di piccola moneta, aspirando più a gloria che a guadagno, scrive: "onde "Messer Andrea Alciati, mio amicissimo, che allora leggeva in "Bologna, vi fece far sotto queste parole: Octonis mensibus opus

* The above passage is at p. 107 of the *second* edition of Limazzo's *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*, 8vo, Bologna 1785. Limazzo however says nothing to contravene what has been advanced in the *Life of Andrea Alciati*, pp. 71–74, respecting the sources of the designs for his emblems.

"ab Arretino Georgio pictum, non tam praecio (*sic*), quam amico-
"rum obsequio, et honoris voto, anno 1539. Philippus Serralius
"pon. curavit." (*Vasari, vite de' pittori*, Firenze 1846 e segg t. 2 pag. 16.) Non aggiungo altro su questo punto già da lei toccato con fina critica nelle pagine premesse alla Photo-lith-facsimile reprint of edition 1551.

'Se Alciato abbia avuto moglie e chi fosse, non ho cercato di chiarire, pensando ch'ella ne riceverebbe informazione più facile e sicura da Milano. A me non consta che ne sia fatta menzione fuor che nella lettera che Alciato scrisse da Avignone al Calvi nel 1518: "multis affectus ærumnis patria excessisse, Uxorem vivam et sos-
"pitem ibi reliquisse."* A scemare il valore di questa notizia vedo in altra lettera da Milano allo stesso Calvi, nel 1522, che fra i motivi per cui Alciato lasciò la Francia, la moglie non è ricordata: "praesertim cum multis precibus et Mater et Ioannes Patruus a
"me peterent ut tandem in Italiam reverterer," e vedo pure che egli pose una lapide ai suoi genitori, senza cenno della moglie, nella chiesa di S. Alessandro in Milano. In proposito di questa lapide mi permetto di narrarle un caso che insegna sempre più a diffidare delle citazioni di Scrittori anche autorevoli. Nell' opera: Senatus Mediolanensis Horatii Landi, Mediol. 1637, a carte 174 dopo alcune parole di lode all' Alciato, si legge: "Caeterum
"sepulcrale eulogium, quod tantus vir suis parentibus inscripsit,
"dignum lepidissimo Alciati ingenio, ne ab ruina ruiturae aedis
"D. Alexandri Med. obruatur, hic descripsimus; Ambrosio Al-
"ciato — Margaritae Landrianae — parentibus opt. Andreas Iuris-
"cons. — Caesar. Senat. F. C. M.D.XLX. — Hic portum attigimus, —
"spes et fortuna valete — Ludite nunc alio — nos habet — alta
"quies."

'Non sapendo io metter d'accordo la data della morte di Alciato (11 al 12 gennaio 1550) colla medisima data d'anno recata dall' iscrizione, dubitai d'un errore di stampa, e mi rivolsi alla cortesia del dotto Sig. Gius. Cossa già professore di paleografia in Milano, perchè accertasse la cosa, seppure nel rifacimento della chiesa di S. Alessandro avvenuto sul principio del 1600, i monumenti non s'eran dispersi. Le trascrivo quì, tale e quale, la risposta che ne ho avuta. "Il Lattuada nella *Descrizione di Milano* (T. iii. p. 99)
"dice che il *deposito* de' genitori di Andrea Alciato era stato tras-
"ferito *in capo alla scala che conduce dalla porta del Collegio alla*
"*chiesa* (di S. Alessandro,) *e si legge così*:† Jo. Ambrosio Alciato—

* Very little evidence indeed has been adduced to show that Alciati was married. See the *Life*, p. 5. If his wife died young it is not probable that mention of her would occur in his later correspondence. His words to Calvi are surely sufficient to establish the fact of his marriage.

† Compare with *Life of Andrea Alciati*, p. 2.

"Margaritae Landrianae—parentibus optimis—Andreas Iuriscon-
"sultus F. C.—*e da un altro lato il noto distico Greco trasportato*
"*in Latino:* Hic portam attigimus,—Spes et Fortuna valete.—
"Ludite nunc alios, nos habet alta quies. Io (Gius. Cossa) sono
"stato due volte *sulla faccia del luogo:* ho osservato attentamente
"l'iscrizione e il soggiunto epigramma—derivato dal greco: ho
"palpato e quasi odorato il monumento ben conservato in un coi
"caratteri. La leggenda sta come l'ha riferita il Lando, ma *non*
"*contiene la data nè traccia alcuna che ne fosse abrasa.* Come il
"Lando aggiunse del proprio la sigla M.D.XLX., così il Lattuada
"appose falsamente. *Jo.* ad *Ambrosio*, dimenticò il qualificativo
"*Caesar. Senat.*, divise male le linee, e scambiò un *porto* con una
"*porta.*"

'Nel mio precedente foglio io prendeva impegno di darle copia di parte d'una lettera su Alciato scritta di quì dal fù prof. Bussedi al prof. Serafini direttore dell' *Archivio giuridico*,* che fu poi citata dal Sig. Podestà nell' articolo intitolato *Doeum: ined: per la storia del diritto*, etc.; del quale le ho mandato una trascrizione. Riuscito ad averla per cortesia dello stesso prof. Serafini, le ne do partecipazione nel foglietto qui unito. Le notizie di questa lettera, cavate com' ella vedrà facilmente, da MSS., Atti e Note esistenti in questa biblioteca e nell' archivio universitario, danno un pocò più di larghezza a quel poco che io ho saputo raccogliere. Io mi terrò contento abbastanza se a lei parrà che qualcosa di ciò che le ho scritto possa stare nell' appendice da lei preparata per la sua vita dell' Alciato.

'Non posso a meno di ringraziarla di nuovo del suo bel dono, e raccomandandomi alla sua indulgenza, me le professo con la più distinta stima, e oso anche dire amicizia

'Devotissimo,

(Signed) 'V. Piccaroli.'

II. The MOTTOES AND TITLES *in the whole of Alciati's Emblems,* as announced in *note* 42 p. 22 of *The Life.*

NOTE. No copy of the Milan collection, 1522, having been found, it is only by probable conjecture (see *Life*, pp. 10, 12, 13) that the emblems which were contained in it can be named; an asterisk (*) will denote these.

In Steyner's Augsburg edition, 1531, the leaves are unnumbered, and it is only by the *signatures* A, A 2, &c., that a reference can be made,—*v* denoting the reverse of the leaf, as A 2 *v.*

The roman numeral after each motto refers to the order of each emblem in the great majority of the editions printed in and after A.D. 1574; but the roman

* See *Appendix* I. 7°, pp. 307–310.

numerals under the column headed 1621, refer to the order in the editions from Padua.

All the emblems after 1522 are known to have devices, excepting those marked with † prefixed; edition 1531 is Steyner's, 1534 Wechel's, 1546 Aldi-Sons', 1551 Roville's and Bonhomme's.

MOTTOES AND TITLES, with the *number* in edition A.D. 1574.	WHERE FOUND.				COLLECTED.	
	1522	1531	1534	1546	1551	1621
		Leaf.	*Page.*	*Leaf.*	*Page.*	*Number.*
Abies, cci	—	—	—	19 *v*	216	ccij
Abstinentia, xxxj	—	—	—	—	38	xxxj
Adversum naturam peccantes	—	—	—	26 *v*	—	lxxx
Aemulatio impar, cxli...	—	—	—	37 *v*	154	cxlij
Aere quandoque salutem redimendam, clij	*	E 3	90	—	165	cliij
Albutii ad D. Alciatum, suadentis, ut de tumultibus Italicis se subducat, et in Gallia profiteatur, cxlij	*	B 5	34	—	155	clxiij
Aliquid mali propter vicinum malum, clxv	*	D	62	—	179	clxvi
Alius peccat, alius plectitur, clxxiiij...	*	D 5*v*	74	—	188	clxxv
Amicitia etiam post mortem durans, clix	*	A 6	16	—	172	clx
A minimis quoque timendum, clxviij..	*	C 7*v*	58	—	182	clxix
Amor filiorum, cxciij	*	C 3	48	—	208	cxciv
Amor virtutis; *see* Ἀντέρως.						
Amor virtutis, alium Cupidinem superans; *see* Ἀντέρως.						
Amuletum Veneris, lxxvij	—	—	—	17 *v*	86	lxxvij
Amygdalus, ccviij	—	—	—	24	224	ccix
Ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου, Sustine et abstine, xxxiv	—	—	—	29 *v*	41	xxxiv
Ἀντέρως, id est, Amor virtutis, cix ...	*	E *v*	86	—	119	cx
Ἀντέρως, id est, Amor virtutis alium Cupidinem superans, cx	*	D 6*v*	76	—	120	cxi
Antiquissima quæque commentitia, clxxxij	—	—	(cxv)	6	196	clxxxiij
Ars naturam adiuuans, xcviij	—	—	—	42	107	ic (99)
Auaritia, lxxxiv	—	—	—	36	92	lxxxv
Auxilium nunquam deficiens, clxi ...	—	C 2*v*	47	—	174	clxij
Bonis a diuitibus nihil timendum, xxxij	*	F 2	107	—	39	xxxij
Bonis auspiciis incipiendum, cxxvi ...	—	—	—	14 *v*	138	cxxvij
Buxus, ccvij	—	—	—	22	222	ccviij
Captiuus ob gulam, xciiij	*	E 3*v*	91	—	102	xcv
Cauendum a meretricibus, lxxvi	—	—	—	10 *v*	84	lxxvi
Concordia, xxxix	*	B 4	31	—	46	xxxix
Concordiæ symbolum, xxxviij	*	A 4	10	—	45	xxxiix
Concordia insuperabilis, xl	...	—	—	11 *v*	47	xl
Consiliarii Principum, cxlv	—	—	—	28	160	cxlvj

MOTTOES AND TITLES, with the *number* in edition A.D. 1574.	WHERE FOUND.				COLLECTED.	
	1522	1531	1534	1546	1551	1621
		Leaf.	*Page.*	*Leaf.*	*Page.*	*Number.*
Consilio et virtute Chimæram superari, hoc est, fortiores et deceptores, xiiij	*	†F 2*v*	108	—	20	xiiij
Cotonea, cciij	—	—	—	20 *v*	218	cciv
Cuculi, lx	—	—	—	12	68	lx
Cum laruis non luctandum, cliii	*	C 8*v*	61	—	166	cliiij
Cupressus, cxcviij	—	—	—	18	213	cxcix
Custodiendas virgines, xxij	*	C 2	46	—	28	xxij
De Morte et Amore, cliv	*	D 3*v*	69	—	167	clv
Desidia, lxxx	—	—	—	35	88	lxxxi
Desidiam abjiciendam, lxxxi	*	A 7*v*	18	—	89	lxxxij
Dicta septem sapientum, clxxxvi	—	—	—	32	200	clxxxvij
Diues indoctus, clxxxix	*	E 4	92	—	204	clxxxx
Doctorum agnomina, xcvi	—	—	—	—	104, 5	xcvij
Doctos doctis obloqui nefas esse, clxxix	*	E 8*v*	105	—	193	clxxx
Dolus in suos, l	—	—	—	43	58	l
Dulcis quandoque amari fieri, cxi	*	E 4*v*	95	—	121	cxij
Duodecim certamina Herculis, cxxxvij	—	—	—	15	149	cxxxviij
Ei qui semel sua prodegerit, aliena credi non oportere, liiij	*	E 8*v*	104	—	62	liiij
Eloquentia fortitudine præstantior, cclxxx	*	E 6	98	—	194	clxxxi
Etiam ferocissimos domari, xxix	*	A 3	8	—	36	xxix
Ex arduis perpetuum nomen, cxxxi	*	B 2*v*	27	—	143	cxxxij
Ex bello pax, clxxvij	*	C 3*v*	49	—	191	clxxviij
Ex damno alterius, alterius utilitas, cxxv	—	—	—	8 *v*	137	cxxvi
Ex litterarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri, cxxxij	*	C *v*	45	—	144	cxxxiij
Ex pace ubertas, clxxviij	*	B *v*	23	—	192	clxxix
Ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα, In dona hostium, clxvij	—	—	119	—	181	clxviij
Facundia difficilis, clxxxi	—	—	—	13 *v*	195	clxxxij
Fatuitas, lxv	—	—	—	42 *v*	73	lxv
Fere simile ex Theocrito, *see* Dulcia, &c., cxij	*	†E *v*	95	—	122	cxiij
Ficta religio, vi	—	—	—	5	12	vi
Fidei Symbolum, ix	*	E 6*v*	100	—	15	ix
Firmissima conuelli non posse, xlij	—	C 8	60	—	49	xlij
Foedera Italorum, x	—	A 2*v*	6	—	16	x
Fortuna virtutem superans, cxix	*	C	44	—	131	cxx
Furor et rabies, lvij	—	—	—	27	64	lvij
Garrulitas, lxx	—	—	—	40	78	lxx
Gramen, xxvi	—	—	—	—	33	xxvi

MOTTOES AND TITLES with the *number* in edition A.D. 1574.	WHERE FOUND.				COLLECTED.	
	1522	1531	1534	1546	1551	1621
		Leaf.	*Page.*	*Leaf.*	*Page.*	*Number.*
Gratiæ, clxij	—	—	—	5 *v*	175	clxiij
Gratiam referendam, xxx	*	A 3*v*	9	—	37	xxx
Gula, xc	—	—	—	36 *v*	98	xci
Hedera, cciiij	—	—	—	21 *v*	219	ccv
Ignaui, lxxxiij	—	—	—	13	91	lxxxiv
Ilex, ccv	—	—	—	21	220	ccvi
Illicitum non sperandum, xlvi	*	A 6*v*	84	—	54	xlvi
Imparilitas, cxxxix	—	—	—	17	152	cxxxx
Impossibile, lix	*	E 3	89	—	67	lix
Impudentia, lxviij	—	—	—	—	76	lxviij
In adulari nescientes, xxxv	*	†F 2*v*	112	—	42	xxxv
In adulatores, liij	*	†E 4	93	—	61	liij
In amatores meretricum, lxxv	*	B 4*v*	33	—	83	lxxv
Inanis impetus, clxiv	—	—	—	44	178	clxv
In astrologos, ciij	*	C 7	57	—	113	civ
In aulicos, lxxxvi	—	—	117	—	94	lxxxvij
In auaros, lxxxv	*	C 6	55	—	93	lxxxvi
In auaros, vel quibus melior conditio ab extraneis offertur, lxxxix	*	A 6	15	—	97	xc
In colores, cxvij	—	—	—	30 *v*	128	cxviij
In Deo laetandum, iiij	*	B 6	36	—	10	iiij
In deprehensum, xxi	*	D *v*	64	—	27	xxj
In desciscentes, cxl	—	—	—	8	153	cxli
In detractores, clxiij	—	—	—	16 *v*	177	clxiv
In dies meliora, xlv	—	—	—	33 *v*	53	xlv
In divites publico malo, lxxxviij	—	—	—	3	96	lxxxix
In dono hostium; *see* Ἐχθρῶν, &c.						
In eos qui supra vires quicquam audent, lviij	*	B *v*	24	—	66	lviij
In eum qui sibi ipsi damnum apparat, lxix	*	E 5*v*	96	—	72	lxix
In eum qui truculentia suorum perierit, clxvi	*	D 7*v*	79	—	180	clxvij
In facile à virtute desciscentes, lxxxij	*	C 5	53	—	90	lxxxiij
In fidem uxoriam, cxc	*	D 2	65	—	205	cxci
In foecunditatem sibi ipsi damnosam, cxcij	*	B 8*v*	43	—	207	cxciij
In formosam fato præreptam, clv	—	—	70	—	168	clvi
In fraudulentos, xlix	—	—	—	7	57	xlix
In garrulum et gulosum, xcv	—	—	—	44 *v*	103	xcvi
In illaudata laudantes, cxxiij	*	B 7	40	—	135	cxxiv
In iuuentam, xcix	—	—	—	3 *v*	108	c
In momentaneam fælicitatem, cxxiv	*	D 5	72	—	136	cxxv
In mortem præproperam, clvi	—	—	118	—	169	clvij
In nothos, cxxxviij	—	—	—	15 *v*	151	cxxxix
In obliuionem patriæ, cxiiij	—	—	115	—	125	cxv

MOTTOES AND TITLES, with the *number* in edition A.D. 1574.	WHERE FOUND.				COLLECTED.	
	1522	1531	1534	1546	1551	1621
		Leaf.	*Page.*	*Leaf.*	*Page.*	*Number.*
In Occasionem, cxxi	*	A 8	20	—	133	cxxij
In parasitos, xcij	*	B 3 *v*	30	—	100	xciij
In Pudoris statuam, cxcvi	—	—	—	4	211	cxcvij
In quatuor anni temporis, c	—	—	—	—	109	ci
In receptatores sicariorum, lij	*	E 6*v*	99	—	60	lij
Insani gladius, clxxv	—	—	—	14	189	clxxvi
In senatum boni Principis, cxliiij	*	D	63	—	157	cxlv
Insignia ducatus Med.; *see* Super insignia.						
Insignia poetarum, clxxxiij	—	—	113	—	197	clxxxiv
In silentium; *see* Silentium.						
In simulachrum spei, xliv	*	D 8*v*	82,3	—	51	xliv
In sordidos, lxxxvij	—	—	—	30	95	lxxxiix
In Statuam Amoris, cxiij	*	E 7*v*	102	—	123	cxiv
In Statuam Bacchi, xxv	*	D 4	71	—	31	xxv
In studiosum captum Amore, cviij	—	D 6	75	—	118	cix
In subitum terrorem, cxxij	—	—	111	—	134	cxxiij
In temerarios, lvi	*	D 3	68	—	65	lvi
In victoriam dolo partam, xlviij	*	A 5	13	—	56	xlviij
Inuidia, lxxi	—	—	—	35 *v*	79	lxxi
Inuiolabiles telo Cupidinis, lxxviij	*	B 6	37	—	86	lxxviij
In vitam humanam, cli	*	E 7	101	—	164	clij
Ira, lxiij	—	—	—	38	71	lxiij
Iusta ultio, clxxij	*	D 7	78	—	186	clxxiij
Iusta vindicta, clxxi	*	B 7*v*	41	—	185	clxxij
Lapsus ubi? quid feci? *see* Πῆ παρὲβην, &c.						
Lasciuia, lxxix	—	—	—	39	87	lxxix
Laurus, ccx	—	—	—	19	225	ccxi
Litera occidit, spiritus uiuificat, clxxxv	—	—	—	25	199	clxxxvi
Luxuria, lxxii	—	—	—	34	80	lxxij
Luxuriosorum opes, lxxiij	—	—	—	7 *v*	81	lxxiij
Maledicentia, li	—	—	—	†37	59	li
Malè parta malè dilabuntur, cxxviij	—	—	—	9	140	cxxix
Malus medica, ccvi	—	—	—	22 *v*	221	ccvij
Maturandum, xx	*	C 6*v*	56	—	26	xx
Mediolanum, ii	—	—	—	45 *v*	8	ij
Mentem, non formam plus pollere, clxxxviij	*	C 5	52	—	203	clxxxix
Morus, ccix	—	—	—	24 *v*	223	ccx
Mulieris famam, non formam, vulgatam esse opertere, cxcv	*	F *v*	106	—	210	cxcvi
Musicam Diis curæ esse, clxxxiv	—	—	114	—	198	clxxxv
Mutuum auxilium, clx	*	B 2	26	—	173	clxi
Natura, *or* Vis Naturæ, xcvij	—	—	—	41 *v*	106	iic
Nec questionis quidem cedendum, xiij	*	D 3	67	—	19	xiij

MOTTOES AND TITLES, with the *number* in edition A.D. 1574.	WHERE FOUND.				COLLECTED.	
	1522	1531	1534	1546	1551	1621
		Leaf.	*Page.*	*Leaf.*	*Page.*	*Number.*
Nec verbo, nec facto quenquam lædendum, xxvij	*	A 7	17	—	34	xxvij
Νῆφε καὶ μέμνησ' ἀπιστεῖν ἅρθρα ταῦτα τῶν Φρενῶν, xvi	—	—	—	28 *v*	22	xvi
Nil, *or* nihil reliqui, cxxvij	—	—	—	43 *v*	139	cxxviij
Nobiles et generosi, cxxxvi	—	—	—	12 *v*	148	cxxxvij
Non tibi, sed Religioni, vij	*	B 7	39	—	13	vij
Non vulganda consilia, xii	*	A 4*v*	12	—	18	xij
(Nullius indiga virtus), *Emb. Thuilii.*	—	—	—	—	—	(p. xlij)
Nunquam procrastinandum, iij	—	—	—	46 *v*	9	iij
Nupta contagioso, cxcvij	—	—	—	27 *v*	212	cxcviij
Obdurandum adversus urgentia, xxxvi	*	B 3	28	—	43	xxxvi
Obliuio paupertatis parens, lxvi	—	—	—	—	74	lxvi
Obnoxia infirmitas, clxix	—	—	—	—	183	clxx
Ocni effigies, de iis qui meretricibus donant quod in bonos usus versi debeat, xci	*	A 8*v*	21	—	99	xcij
Omnia mea mecum porto, xxxvij	—	—	—	—	44	xxxvij
Optimus civis, cxxxiiij	*	†F 3	110	—	146	cxxxv
Opulentia tyranni, paupertas subiectorum, cxlvi	—	—	—	—	159	cxlvij
Opulenti hæreditas, clviij	—	—	—	45	171	clix
Parem delinquentis et suasoris culpam esse, clxxiij	*	C 7*v*	59	—	187	clxxiv
Paruam culinam duobus ganeonibus non sufficere, xciij	*	B 5*v*	35	—	101	xciv
Paupertatem summis ingeniis obesse, ne prouehantur, cxx	*	A 7*v*	19	—	132	cxxi
Pax, clxxvi	*	E	85	—	190	clxxvij
Πῆ παρέβην; τί δ' ἐρέξαι; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθαι; xvii	—	—	—	29	23	xvij
Peutinger; *see* Praefatio.						
Philautia, *or Φιλαντία*, lxix	—	—	—	38 *v*	77	lxix
Picea, ccij	—	—	—	20	217	cciij
Pietas filiorum in parentes, cxciv	*	D 5	73	—	209	cxcv
Populus alba, ccxi	—	—	—	23	226	ccxij
Potentia Amoris, cvi	*	D 8	80	—	116	cvij
Potentissimus affectus Amor, cv	*	A 4*v*	11	—	115	cvi
(Præfatio ad Chon. Peutingerum)	—	†A 2	†4	—	†6	† p. ii
Princeps subditorum incolumitatem procurans, cxliij	*	B 2	25	—	156	cxliv
Principis clementia, *or* (maledicentia contrà), cxlviij	—	—	—	†37	161	cxlix
Prudens, sed infacundus; *or* magis quam loquax, xix	—	—	—	41	25	xix
Prudentes, xviij	—	—	—	6 *v*	24	xviij
Prudentes vino abstinent, xxiiij	*	C 5*v*	54	—	30	xxiiij

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	1522	1531	1534	1546	1551	1621
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Pudicitia, xlvij	—	—	—	—	55	xlvij
Quà Dii vocant, eundum, viij	*	D 8*v*	81	—	14	viij
Quæ supra nos, nihil ad nos, cij	*	B 4	32	—	112	ciij
Quercus, cxcix	—	—	—	18 *v*	214	cc
Qui alta contemplantur cadere, civ ...	*	E 2*v*	88	—	114	cv
(Quid excessi! quid admisi! quid omisi! *see* Πῆ παρέβην, &c.)						
Quod non capit Christus, rapit fiscus, cxlvij	*	D 2*v*	66	—	158	cxlviij
Remedia in arduo, mala in prono esse, cxxx	*	E 5*v*	97	—	142	cxxxi
Respublica liberata, cl	—	—	—	26	163	cli
Reuerentiam in matrimonio requiri, cxci	*	A 5*v*	14	—	206	cxcij
Salix, cc	—	—	—	23 *v*	215	ccij
Salus publica, cxlix	—	—	—	25 *v*	162	cl
Sapientia humana stultitia est apud Deum, v	—	—	—	16	11	v
Scyphus Nestoris, ci	—	—	—	9 *v*	110	cij
Semper præsto esse infortunia, cxxix.	*	C 4*v*	51	—	141	cxxx
Senex puellam amans, cxvi	—	—	—	10	127	cxvij
Signa fortium, xxxiij	*	E 2	87	—	40	xxxiij
Silentium, *or* In silentium, xi	*	A 3	7	—	17	xi
Sirenes, cxv	—	—	—	4 *v*	126	cxvi
Sobrie viuendum: et non temere, credendum;* *see* Νῆφε καὶ μέμνησ', &c.						
Spes proxima, xliij	*	B 6*v*	38	—	50	xliij
Strenuorum immortale nomen, cxxxv	—	—	—	11	147	cxxxvi
Submouendam ignorantiam, clxxxvij.	*	C 3*v*	50	—	202	clxxxviij
Superbia, lxvij	—	—	—	34 *v*	75	lxvij
Super insigni ducatus Mediolanensis, i	*	A 2	5	—	7	i
Sustine et abstine; *see* Ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου.						
Tandem, tandem iustitia obtinet, xxviij	*	B 8	42	—	35	xxiix
Temeritas, lv	—	—	—	39 *v*	63	lv
Terminus, clvij	—	—	—	33	170	clviij
Tumulus Ioannis Galeacij Vicecomitis, primi ducis Mediolanensis, cxxxiij.	*	†F 3	109	—	145	cxxxiv
Tumulus meretricis, lxxiv	*	B 3*v*	29	—	82	lxxiv
Vnum nihil duos plurimum posse, xli.	—	—	116	—	48	xli

* The motto also reads: "Sobrius esto, et memineris non temerè credere; hæc sunt membra mentis."

MOTTOES AND TITLES, with the *number* in edition A.D. 1574.	WHERE FOUND.				COLLECTED.	
	1522	1531	1534	1546	1551	1621
		Leaf.	*Page*	*Leaf.*	*Page.*	*Number.*
Vel post mortem formidolosi, clxx ...	—	—	—	—	184	clxxi
Vespertilio, lxi	—	—	—	—	69	lxi
Vespertilio, lxii	—	—	—	—	70	lxij
Vigilantia et Custodia, xv.....	—	—	—	31 *v*	21	xv
Vino prudentiam augeri, xxiij	—	—	(cxiiij)	40 *v*	29	xxiij
Virtuti fortuna comes, cxviij	*	B	22	—	130	cxix
Vis amoris, cvij	*	D 7	77	—	117	cviij
Vis Naturæ; *see* Natura.						
Emblems of Alciati, 211, ed. A.D. 1574.....	100	104	115	86	211	212

III. ADDENDA to *The Life* and *Bibliographical Catalogue*, including, 1°, BRIEF EXPLANATORY NOTES; 2°, OTHER EDITIONS of the emblems, A.D. 1564, 1599 and 1866, too late for insertion in their proper places. and 3°, ENQUÊTES, or CIRCULARS OF INQUIRY.

1° BRIEF EXPLANATORY NOTES:

Life, p. 4, l. 18. Of "the medal of Alciati." The inscriptions are printed in the *Preface*, p. vi; and an accurate engraving on the half-title to the *Bibliographical Catalogue*, p. 97.

P. 7, l. 31. "To Jortin." The reference is to the edition, 3 vols. 8vo, London 1808.

P. 25, l. 4. "Thus did the epitaph stand." The plate near the beginning of our volume represents the whole monument, with the *four vignettes* and Alciati's statue.

P. 37, l. 3. "John Galeacii." Strictly the fore-name and the surname should be in the same language.

P. 58, l. 19. "The Italians furnish three translations." Capaccio, in 1620, should have been expressly included. With his translation in "*Il Principe*" there are four.

P. 66, l. 22. "Le Petit Bernard, *i.e.* Solomon Bernard." This is not an unusual designation, but the correct appellation is Bernard Solomon,—the latter word Solomon being the surname.

P. 79, l. 1. "Les Emblèmes ou entregectz," &c. This is a quotation from Aneau's *Preface* in the emblem edition by Bonhomme, Lyons 1549.

P. 82, l. 11. "The name of Jost Ammon of Zurich." Though

Jost Ammon enjoyed the patronage of Feyerabend, it really appears doubtful whether he executed designs for Alciati's emblems. Consult the editions No. 74, p. 190; No. 77, p. 193; No. 96, p. 208.

P. 206, l. 31. It may be observed that the devices for emblems 154 and 155 have interchanged places; *that* at emblem 154 belongs to emblem 155, and *the one* at 155 to 154.

P. 281, l. 44. In Mr. Green's numerals insert * at p. 330.

P. 282, l. 19. Insert in the Keir numerals, *67, *70; and at l. 25 *169, and *other editions (p. 326–328), Nos. 1, 2, 3.

2° OTHER EDITIONS of the emblems, A.D. 1564, 1599, and 1866.

No. 1, A.D. 1564, *Catal.* p. 186.

OMNIA | *D. AND. ALCIATI* | EMBLEMATA | AD QVAE SINGVLA, PRAETER | concinnas acutasque inscriptiones, lepidas & ex- | pressas imagines, ac cætera omnia, quæ | prioribus nostris editionibus cùm ad | eorum distinctionem, tum ad | ornatum & correctionem | adhibita continе- | bantur. | ※ | *Nunc primùm perelegantia persubtiliaq; adiecta sunt* | *ΕΠΙΜΥΘΙΑ, quibus Emblematum ampli-* | *tudo, & quæcunque in ijs dubia sunt aut obscura* | *tanquam perspicua illustrantur:* | (Roville's device, *Eagle on globe, serpents erect with tails entwined;* motto, "IN VIRTVTE | ET FORTVNA.") *LVGDVNI,* | Apud Gulielmum Rouillium, | Sub scuto Veneto, | 1564.

Colophon: FINIS.

Collation copy: From the library at Keir, *Feb.* 1872.

16mo VOL., 4.68 *in.* × 3.15; *full pages,* 4.05 × 2.63; *devices,* 1.77 to 2.36 × 2.48.

Register: A–R in 8s = 136 leaves or 272 pages; numbered 1–260; unnumbered 9; blank 3 = 272.

Contents: pp. 1 and 2, title and blank; pp. 3–5, "Ad Lectorem;" p. 6, "Ad Chon. Peutingerum;" pp. 7–238, Emblemata (1–197); pp. 239–260, Arbores (198–211); on 9 pages, "Index Emblematvm in locos commvnes digestorvm."

To each of the 211 emblems there is a device, and to nearly all the emblems a short explanation in Latin prose. Except for being without borders, the devices are the same and apparently from the same blocks as in editions Nos. 31, 32, 36 and 70.

No. 2, A.D. 1599, *Catal.* pp. 230–231.

[EMBLEMS OF ALCIATI, introduced into the foreground of some Landscapes, by *John Sadeler.*] About 1599.

Authority: A letter from sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, bart., Keir February 24th 1872, which mentions "some prints just found amongst some miscellaneous prints," "at the end of two sets to which they evidently do not belong." "Landscapes of this sort, half allegory, half landscape, by Sadeler,* are very numerous and very imperfectly described. He *may* have drawn a complete set of Alciati's emblems, but I can find no account of it or of them."

The LIST here follows, and on comparing the subjects with those inserted from Modena in the *Bib. Catalogue*, No. 125, p. 230, the two sets will be seen closely to coincide:

1. Alciati's Emb. 7. *Non tibi, sed religioni.* Alciat. *Auctor.* I. Sadeler *sc.*
2. Alciati's Emb. 59. *Impossibile.* I. Sadeler *sc. et ex.*
3. Alciati's Emb. 81. *Desidiam abjiciendam.* Eg. Mostard *pinxit.* I. Sadeler *scalpsit.*
4. Alciati's Emb. 104. *Qui alta contemplantur, cadere.* Ioã Sadeler *scalpsit, Venetiis.* H. Bol.
5. Alciati's Emb. 154. *De Morte et Amore.* Inv. Mathia Bril. Ioã Sadeler *scalps.*

"These landscapes have no number on them, and do not seem to have belonged to a set, though in size and character they are alike. They have no letters; but the verses of Alciati are engraved on the plates. The size is about 8.5 to 8.6 *in.* × 10.5 to 10.7;" which, it may be observed, corresponds very closely to the Modena measurement, *Bib. Catalogue*, p. 231, 21.6 to 21.9 *centim* × 26.7 to 27.2 *centim.*

6. Alciati's Emb. 116. *Senex puellam amans.* There is a print on the same subject. Petrus Stephani *figur.* Ioan Sadeler *sc.*

* It may be noted that such landscapes are very much of the same kind with those by Crispin de Passe, and which are found to the number of two hundred in NVCLEVS EMBLEMATVM a Gabriele Rollenhagio, 1611 and 1613. See *Bib. Catalogue*, No. 137a, pp. 239–242, and No. 158a, pp. 258–261.

"Buildings and a river, beside which are seated an old man and a girl; his left arm passes behind her back, and he seems with that hand to be offering her a flower over her left shoulder; she is turning from him as if to look at the flower. At the side of the print (to the left of the two figures who are in the centre) Death takes aim at the pair with a bow and arrow from behind a tree. Underneath are *six* verses:

"Debuit inde senex qui nunc Acheronticus esse
Ecce amat et capiti florea serta parat,
Ast ego mutato quia Amor me perculit arcu,
Deficio, iniiciunt & mihi fata manum.
Parce puer, Mors signa tenens victricia parce:
Fac ego amem; subeat fac Acheronta senex."

The lines are Alciati's conclusion to the twelve which he wrote *De Morte et Amore*, emblem 154:

"Errabat socio Mors iuncta Cupidine," &c.,

but are applied by Sadeler to another subject, to which the right lines are, as given by Alciati, emblem cxvi:

"Dvm *Sophocles (quamvis affecta ætate) puellam*
A quæstu Archippen ad sua vota trahit," &c.

No. 3, also A.D. 1599, *Catal.* p. 231, lines 7–13.

[Emblems by *John* and *Raphael Sadeler*, similar to those engraved by John Sadeler in the foregoing List, 1–6, in illustration of Alciati's emblems.] About 1599.

Authority: A letter from sir Wm. Stirling-Maxwell, bart.

1. *Ass with burden, and pigs by the way-side.*

Device: A walled town in the middle distance and two towers; hills beyond; rocky foreground, with flights of stairs; two figures; five pigs; two men to the right driving laden asses; one of the latter turning his head towards the nearest pig. The Latin verses are:

"Porcus amans otio vitam traducere inertem
Indulgere gulæ, deliciisque frui,
Inde fatigato sortem exprobrabat asello,
Cuique comes macies horrida semper erat.
Ast ubi pinguem illum a domino conspexit Asellus
Vendier ad mortem, sic moniturus ait;
O quantum tibi sors melior si parca fuisset,
Quam vitam in mediis perdere deliciis."

Cũ privil. sm̃ Pontif. et Sac. Cæs. M^{tis}.
Joã Sadeler scalps. Venetiis. Petrus Stephani figuravit.

N.B. *These Latin verses are not from Alciati.*

2. Alciati's emblem clx, MVTVVM AVXILIVM.

Device: Blind man carrying lame man over a bridge. River, bridge and town in foreground; in middle distance two travellers on mules; blind man and cripple in immediate foreground. Below:

"CHARITAS NVNQVAM EXCIDIT. 1 Cor. 13. QVI HABET DET NON HABENTI. Luc. 3.

Ioānes Sadeler scalps. et excudit.

Arida sylva viret densis vestita corymbis
Fert claudum cæcus; monstrat ille viam,
Præbet largus opem poscenti dives egens
Tu nunquam miseros deservisse velis."

N.B. *The subject is from Alciati but not the stanza.*

3. *Waggoner praying to heaven for help to pull his waggon out of the mud.*

Device: Bridge and river in middle distance, with mud, and travellers on mules; town on hill top, hills and valley beyond; the sun's disk in a corner; in the foreground, waggoner on his knees; waggon, two oxen and a horse. The Latin stanza:

"Rustice vis mersum coeno subducere plaustrū
Atque id ut efficias nil nisi vota facis?
O nimium simplex; operi accingaris oportet,
Et feret optatam tunc tibi numen opē."

Lodovico Pozzo invēt Trevis. Joāni Sadelero f. Venetiæ 1599.

N.B. *Neither the subject nor the stanza is from Alciati,* but the subject is treated of in Faerni's FABVLÆ CENTVM, 4to, Romæ 1565, at p. 91, as "BVBVLVS ET HERCVLES," *The Ox driver and Hercules.* Neither Burmann's *Phædrus* 1728, nor Valpy's 1812, refers to this fable, but FABVLAE ANIANI, 4to, Argentorati, M.D.XVI., contains *De Rustico et Hercule.*

4. Alciati's emblem lxxxv, IN AVAROS.

Device: Ass laden with eatables, browsing on a thistle. Tower with stork's nest in middle distance; bridge and town beyond, backed with hills; in foreground river and trees; man seated by way-side with his ass browsing near. Below are the stanzas:

"SEPTITIVS populos inter ditissimus omnes;
Arva senex nullus quo magis ampla tenet.
Defraudans geniumque suum, mensasque paratas,
Nil præter betas, duraque rapa vorat;
Cui similem dicam hunc, inopem quem copia reddit?
Anne asino? sic est; instar hic ejus habet.
Namque asinus dorso pretiosa obsonia gestat
Seque rubo, aut dura carice pauper alit."

Matth. Bril. *inven.* Raph. Sadeler *scal.* cum priv. Pontif.

N.B. *Both subject and stanzas are Alciati's.*

In the plates at Modena and Keir, *List* 1 containing six plates, and *List* 2 only four, there is certainly opened out a new subject of inquiry — How far that celebrated engraver, J. Sadeler, carried his illustrative designs for Alciati's emblems? Did he execute a complete set?

No. 4, A.D. 1866, *Catal.* p. 275.

WHITNEY'S | "CHOICE OF EMBLEMES," | a fac-simile reprint | edited by HENRY GREEN, M.A. | with | AN EXPLANATORY DISSERTATION, | ESSAYS LITERARY AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL | AND EXPLANATORY NOTES. | LONDON: Lovell Reeve & Co. | CHESTER: Minshull & Hughes; NANTWICH: E. H. Griffiths. | M.DCCC.LXVI.

Colophon: MANCHESTER: | Printed by Charles Simms and Co., King Street.

Collation copy: From Mr. *Green*, Knutsford. *Other copies:* about 500; *i.e.* 50 *large* and 450 *small* paper copies.

4to VOL., *large paper*, 11.02 *in.* × 8.58; *small paper*, 9.84 × 7.36; *full pages*, 6.7 *in.* to 7.28 × 4.72; *devices*, see edition 1586, No. 111, p. 220.

Register: The signatures are mixed and irregular. *Pagination:* Introduction, 96 pages; reprint, 252; essays, &c., 296; total, 644 pages.

Contents: On 4 pages, titles, &c.; on 2 pages, "To the most noble the Marquess of Cholmondeley," &c., and Whitney's badge and autograph; pp. v–viii, "To the Reader;" pp. vii–viii *b*, contents; pp. ix–lxxiv, introductory dissertation; pp. lxxv–lxxx, index to mottoes; pp. lxxxi–lxxxviii, postscript to the dissertation, including the Whitney genealogy. FAC-SIMILE REPRINT; see edition 1586, No. 111, p. 220; on pages 231–400, notes, literary and bibliographical; pp. 401–412, addenda; pp. 413–414, index to the plates. On 86 pages, plates, 1–63; pp. 415–433, general index; p. 434, emblema finale; on 6 pages, list of subscribers and corrigenda.

When our work had so nearly reached its conclusion, the mournful announcement was made that an excellent man,

in every way an ornament to his profession of printer, whether for learning or for skill, CHARLES SAMUEL SIMMS, of Manchester, had passed away, February 27th, 1872. Suffer a trifling tribute to his memory:

At rest — in honour; friendships true and strong
Cherish thy worth, — and with their throbbing life
Roll ever on the tide thy name along,
Above the toiling city's din and strife:
At rest — in hope; while fond affections twine
Their holiest vows with latest prayers of thine.

March 2, 1872. H. G.

3° ENQUÊTES, or CIRCULARS OF INQUIRY, referred to in the *Bibliographical Catalogue,* pp. 110 and 112.

No. 1. *Enquête* pour découvrir la première Edition des Emblèmes d'André Alciat, illustre Jurisconsulte Italien, Milan A.D. 1522. (*See* p. 110.)

A Monsieur le Bibliothécaire. *Londres, Février* 1869.

Monsieur,

Depuis quelque temps j'ai cherché à déterminer le nombre des Editions des Emblèmes d'André Alciat, qui ont été imprimées depuis la première de Milan 1522. Des autorités incontestables, que j'ai réunies, prouvent qu'il y en a eu plus de 140, et peut-être plus de 150; Parmi ce nombre j'en ai examiné et collationné à peu près 80; néanmoins mes recherches n'ont pu découvrir où se trouve un exemplaire de la première Edition de 1522.

Cette Edition est nommée dans le 7ième volume de Panzer, page 402, *Annales Typographici*, 4to, 1793–1803.

Aussi dans la *Bibliothèque Curieuse* de Clement, 1750, vol. 1er, page 139.

Et dans le *Adparatus Litterarius* de Freytag, 1752, vol. 3ième, pages 467, 468.

Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, Paris 1860, vol. 1er, page 147, ne fait qu'une simple allusion à l'Edition de Milan 1522, et dit; "c'est la première Edition qui est devenue très rare, parce que, dit-on, l'auteur en a retiré les exemplaires."

Brunet n'ajoute pas où pourroit se trouver un exemplaire de cette première Edition, ni s'il en a jamais vu un exemplaire.

Dans l'intérêt de la littérature des Emblèmes je m'adresse aux Bibliothécaires des principales Bibliothèques de l'Europe, et je les

prie respectueusement et les supplie de la manière la plus sérieuse de m'aider dans mes recherches à fin d'arriver à un heureux résultat.

Comme Editeur d'une Société de Bibliophiles (the Holbein-Society) de Manchester dont l'objet est la réproduction en Photolithographie des différents ouvrages anciens dans lesquels se trouvent combinés l'art et la littérature, permettez-moi d'ajouter que nous nous sommes proposé la publication d'un livre en quatre parties sous le titre de *Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor*:* se composant de :

1° L'Edition de 1531, par Henry Steyner d'Augsbourg, qui contient 104 emblèmes et 98 devises.

2° L'Edition de Paris de 1534, by Christien Wechel, qui contient 113 emblèmes et la même nombre de devises.

3° L'Edition de Venise de 1546, imprimée par les Aldes, contenant 81 emblèmes avec devises, et deux sans devises.

4° L'Edition de Lyon de 1548 augmentée par celle de 1551 ; elle contient 204 emblèmes et 125 devises.

Toutefois, avant de continuer notre travail sur ces quatre éditions il est extrêmement à desirer d'obtenir, si c'est possible, une notion exacte de l'Edition de Milan de 1522.

C'est pourquoi, Monsieur, si vous pouviez nous fournir parmi les richesses dont vous êtes le conservateur, les renseignements que nous désirons obtenir, nous vous en serions excessivement obligés.

Adressez, s'il vous plaît, votre réponse à Messrs. Trübner & C^ie^, Editeurs, Paternoster Row, London.

Agréez, Monsieur, l'expression de la plus haute considération.

Pour la comité,

Henry Green.

No. 2. *Enquête* pour découvrir les éditions des Emblèmes d'André Alciat. (*See* p. 112.)

A Monsieur le Bibliothécaire. *Londres, Avril* 22, 1870.

Monsieur,

Comme éditeur d'une Société de Bibliophiles (the Holbein-Society) de Manchester j'ai adressé aux principales bibliothèques de l'Europe au printemps de l'an 1869 une enquête qui avait pour but de découvrir la première édition (editio princeps) des Emblèmes d'Alciat, Milan a.d. 1522.

* For sufficient reasons the plan here announced has not been exactly carried out; editions 1531, 1534, 1546 and 1551 have alone been reproduced in fac-simile. See our *Bibliographical Catalogue*, No. 177, p. 275, and No. 178, p. 277.

Je les remercie mille fois des civilités qui me furent alors accordées. C'est ce qui m'encourage de les prier de m'aider à rendre aussi parfaite qu'il soit possible la liste des éditions des emblèmes d'Alciat, depuis l'an 1522 jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

Pour avancer ce projet, je vous soumets, Monsieur, deux copies de la liste que j'ai préparée. Je vous prie de retenir la liste No. 1, pour la comparer avec le catalogue des éditions d'Alciat dans votre Bibliothèque : et je vous serai infiniment obligé si vous voulez bien me renvoyer la liste No. 2 avec un signe placé auprès de la date des éditions que vous possédez, ainsi qu'un récit des éditions qui ne se trouvent pas dans ma liste, écrit sur la dernière page.

Ayez la bonté d'adresser la réponse (liste No. 2) affranchie ou non, comme vous voulez, à Messieurs Trübner & Cie, Libraire-Editeurs, Paternoster Row, London, et d'agréer l'assurance de ma très haute considération.

Pour le conseil de la Société-Holbein à Manchester,
HENRY GREEN, Editeur.

P.S. Permettez-moi de diriger votre attention sur la lettre-circulaire ci-incluse. Elle fait mention d'un livre publié aujourd'hui, *Shakespeare and the Emblem-Writers*, qui contient une revue de la littérature d'emblèmes jusqu'à l'an 1616.

SPECIMEN OF THE TWO LISTS.

LISTE No. 1, *à retenir pour en faire la comparaison.*

Editions des Emblèmes d'Alciat examinées et conférées par l'éditeur de la Société-Holbein à Manchester, ou mentionnées dans les ouvrages d'auteurs différents.

Vol.	Titre.	Imprimeur.	Ville.	Date.	Signe.
8°	EDITIO PRINCEPS...	,, ...	*Mediolani.*	1522	*men.**
8°	Emblematum liber...	Steyner...	*Aug. Vind.*	Fev. 1531	*ex.*†
8°	,, ,, ...	,,	,,	Avr. 1531	*ex.*
8°	,, ,, ...	,, ...	,,	1532	*men.*
12°	,, ,, ...	,, ...	,,	1533	*men.*
8°	,, ,, ...	,, ...	,,	1534	*ex.*

LISTE No. 2. *Réponse à M. Henry Green.*

Blank page of the circular for inserting,

Les autres éditions des Emblèmes d'Alciat qui ne sont pas contenues dans la liste précédente, mais qui se trouvent à la Bibliothèque de

Titre.	Imprimeur	Ville.	Date.	No. de pages.

Such were the *Circulars of Inquiry* for discovering editions of the emblem-books of Alciati. To "*Enquête*" 2 were appended the two *lists*, each containing the same 150 editions already known.

* *men.* mentionnées. † *ex.* examinées et conférées.

No. 3. Advertisement in the *Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux*, numéro 126, col. 194. Paris, 10 Avril 1870.

Les Emblèmes d'Alciat, édition de 1522.

L'éditeur de la *Holbein-Society* de Manchester, qui est sur le point de publier une réproduction *fac-simile* des plus anciennes éditions *des Emblèmes d'Alciat*, désire vivement obtenir quelques renseignements concernant l'existence de l'édition de ces *Emblèmes* publiée à Milan en 1522. Ses recherches à ce sujet sont restées jusqu'à présent infructueuses. Même une circulaire adressée aux plus importantes Bibliothèques de l'Europe n'a pas eu de résultat.

Cependant l'édition de 1522 est citée dans le *Manuel de Brunet* et ailleurs. Est-elle devenue tellement rare, qu'il ne soit pas possible d'obtenir trace de son existence?

Tous renseignements à cet égard seront reçus avec reconnaissance par l'éditeur de la *Holbein-Society.*

Priére de les lui adresser par l'intermédiaire de "*l'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux.* (Londres.) T. et C."

These inquiries, as stated in the *Bibliographical Catalogue*, pp. 109–114, continue unsuccessful; but the methods or forms of making them are here preserved, that, if need be, they may serve for more extended researches into emblem-books generally.

In the foregoing *Addenda*, especially in the *notices* of other editions (pp. 326–330) and of other illustrative plates in the Palatine library of Modena and at Keir, there is, we think, ample justification for placing on page 284 of the *Bibliographical Catalogue* the device of *The Crescent and the Crown*, and for intimating that through increase in the one the other would be attained.

When my emblem-book inquiry first commenced, the thought gleamed around me that peradventure 50 editions of the Alciati emblems existed. It was well known towards the end of the sixteenth century that numerous editions of them had been issued from the printing presses of Augsburg, Paris, Lyons and Antwerp; and yet, with the seventeenth century, the critics and biographers who enter on the subject, speak very indefinitely. The abbé le Clere says, "there was a great number of editions;" Clement, "an

infinity of editions;" and Mazzuchelli, that the impression issued from Augsburg "was followed by many others." In the *Censura Literaria* of 1815, and in the *Retrospective Review* of 1820, it does not appear that S. Egerton Brydges hazarded a conjecture; neither did Dibdin nor Francis Douce,—all admirers of the Alciati emblems: but J. Brooks Yates, in 1849, mentioned them as having "passed through fifty editions." Under the researches of literary amateurs that number grew, during the next fifteen years, from 50 to about 80. On verifying this number I conjectured that I had nearly reached the limit, or the summit;—almost the entire disk had become illuminated. Judge of the deep interest, accompanied by some surprise, with which, as author of *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, 1870, I saw the crescent enlarge to include 130 editions; and very soon 150,—when, as editor of the Holbein-Society, I was able to issue in April 1870 a verified list, and by a printed "Enquête" (p. 332), addressed to the chief librarians of Europe, earnestly desired their help to make the enterprise more complete.

The aid was generously given, and information liberally sent. And, I doubt not, these would again be accorded, were the project more extensive and its accomplishment sought with like perseverance. Through the additional light which coadjutors so worthily supplied, the Photometer for the editions of the Alciati emblem-books marked a number unexpectedly high, and its Index continues to vibrate for rising again. The search however until the whole orb shall be full will demand other men's labours. Let it for the present suffice that one hand has gathered the memorials of about 180 of these editions; and that the old emblematist of Milan can himself furnish, for the end of the present work and study, a symbol characteristic of the force of his will and the steadiness of his determination,— it is the divinity that *there* kept his seat *where* he had placed it.

IV. Corrigenda.

Page 7, at top, *should be* "Avignon 1518–1521."
„ 8, line 35, note, *insert* "London 1808."
„ 23, „ 4, "epigrams," *not* "epigramms."
„ 38, „ 10, "Adages," *not* "Adiges."
„ 46, „ 26, "As in man's body," *omit* "'s body."
„ 58, „ 19, "four," *not* "three translations."
„ 58, „ 20, *insert* "J. C. Capaccio."
„ 69, „ 31, note, "our work," *not* "the work."
„ 73, „ 11, *should be* "Michael Angelo Buonarotti."
„ 79, „ 13, "179 editions," *not* "185."
„ 81, „ 6, "folio editions," *not* "edition."
„ 87, „ 11, *omit* "on the title-pages."
„ 90, „ 25, "Ruphanus," *not* "Ruphenus."
„ 158, „ 1, *read* "*muy M. y muy R.*"
„ 183, „ 8, "1560," *not* "1569."
„ 183, „ 10, "col. 854," *not* "354."
„ 185, „ 36, note, "Arran," *not* "Aran."
„ 203, „ 18, "Francois," *not* "Francoys."
„ 206, „ 34, "year 1577," *not* "1557."
„ 271, „ 21, "las cosas," *not* "casas."
„ 271, „ 21, "Adagios," *not* "Adegios."

. . . . . *talis*
Terminus est. — Emblematum Alciati, clvii.

M.DCCC.LXXII.

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